



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

earlier works ; and from this dross they will be able to extract much of precious metal, the smelting of which could with no propriety be confided to younger hands.

ART. V.—*An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution.*

By SAMUEL G. HOWE, M. D., late Surgeon in Chief to the Greek Fleet. 8vo. New York. 1828. pp. 452.

WE believe that, after all that has been said and written in this country about the affairs of Greece, their importance is not yet justly appreciated. We believe that the contest, which was commenced about eight years and a half ago in that country, and is still going on in the East, is, both directly and in its consequences, much more momentous than is generally supposed, by those who have not carefully contemplated it. We have seen the name of a revolution sneeringly denied to the Grecian struggle ; and attempts made, not only to stigmatize it as a mere insurrection, but to give it the character of a predatory and piratical movement, such as occasionally breaks out in strong governments, and, after some acts of violence and bloodshed, is happily crushed. Such is not the view we take of the subject. The revolution now in progress in Greece, differing certainly in some important respects from our own, is in others of equal importance. The numbers actively engaged in carrying it on, or whose political condition is to be decided by its result, are little if any beneath those of the British North American colonies in 1775. And although our population of that day was destined to an immediate increase, far greater and more rapid than any increase of numbers which, in any event, can be expected in revolutionary Greece ; still the happy soil of that country, under institutions favorable to the progress of society, would easily support a population about ten times as large as the present, and would not then be more densely inhabited than Italy. The Grecian revolution has now been in progress more than eight years ; a longer period than elapsed from the commencement to the termination of our war of Independence. It appears to us, that this duration of the struggle gives it a claim to be distinguished from a mere disorderly and

insurrectionary movement. In the number, variety, and extent of military and naval movements, and in the scale of warlike operations, we will not say that the war in Greece can be put on a level with the war of our revolution ; but we certainly may say with truth, that it has been marked with incidents of a more decisive character, than most of those which occurred in the conflict between the British and American arms. The sieges and capture of Tripolizza and Napoli di Romania, by the unaided arms of the Greeks, are events to which our war affords no precise parallel. The annihilation of the army of Drama Ali, a well appointed force of thirty thousand men, which burst, full of presumption and hope, upon the Morea, in the campaign of 1822, and was wholly destroyed, may be fairly compared with the capture of Burgoyne. The defence of Missolonghi is not surpassed, in the display of active or passive courage, by any event in any war. The exploits of the Greeks, on their favorite element, the sea, rise into the regions of romance. Many times have the Turkish fleets, composed of ships of the line and frigates, fled in confusion, at the approach of their audacious little squadrons ; and omitting the numberless gallant exploits less brilliantly successful, what glory would not have crowned the gallant and fortunate man, in our last war, who should twice have fitted out and commanded a fire-ship, hovered for days and weeks around a formidable hostile fleet, singled out her admiral, a three-decker, run in, grappled with and totally destroyed him, and made his own escape in a boat. If the sacrifices made, and the suffering endured, give a dignity to a contest,—as they certainly afford an index of the spirit and temper with which it is waged,—where can we turn for scenes like those of Scio, of Candia, of Ipsara, of Missolonghi. The war in Greece has been filled up with events, of which any one would have signalized a contest in any region of western Europe or America. We copy, as an illustration, the following single incident in the siege of Missolonghi, and would inquire, what single incident in the last war, with the exception of the battle of New Orleans, is of greater magnitude ?

‘ The rainy season had also set in, and the Turkish army began to suffer from sickness, while their leaders now saw clearly that all the negotiations which they had been carrying on, tended only to give time to the Greeks to secure supplies. They resolved, then, upon a general attack, and selected for the moment of it,

Christmas eve, a time of great church ceremonies with the Greeks, and in which they expected the garrison would be engaged. A select body with scaling-ladders were to approach the walls silently on one side, while the attention of the garrison was to be drawn off by a feigned attack in the centre, and a real one upon the other wing.

‘But the Greeks got notice of the plan, and made every preparation for a vigorous resistance; the men were kept at their posts all night, and Mavrocordato, Botzaris, and the other leaders, went about cheering them, and keeping a diligent watch. Nevertheless the scaling party approached unseen, to the very ditch, and awaited the signal. This was given at 5 A. M., and immediately the roar of cannon, and rattle of musketry, along the whole Turkish line, with the shouts of the soldiers, announced to the Greeks how many and how near their enemies were. But every man was sheltered behind his breastwork, and they escaped the Turkish shot; while their own, directed upon the flash, proved very destructive. The scaling party crossed the ditch, and began resolutely to climb the wall; but they were as bravely met by the Greeks, cut down, and thrust back; only two entered the town.* The Turks pressed on at the other parts, but were driven back by the musketry from the walls, and the grape from the guns.

‘Daylight presented a striking scene; the plain was covered by the Turks, who in the greatest confusion were retiring, while next the walls “in a semicircle lay” the ridge of dead who had fallen in the onset, and the battlements were covered with the exulting Greeks, who pursued with shouts of derision their retiring enemy. The Turks lost one thousand men, while the Greeks had not fifty killed, wounded, and missing.’ pp. 137, 138.

If we regard the character of the parties in this contest, we shall find them of singular interest. Without drawing at all on topics of classical enthusiasm,—from which we intend studiously to abstain,—and taking up the character of the Greeks, where modern history takes them up, we must allow that there is no other people standing in so interesting a position. In the great political history of mankind, the balance of the East and the West is one of the matters of chief interest. The rise, aggrandizement, and power of the Turkish empire are, in modern times, the principal things that have affected this balance; and

* “They were two standard-bearers. One was instantly cut to pieces; the other was preserved, by order of the president. It is remarkable that the besieged lost but six men killed, and that one half of that number was by this brave Albanian, who killed three with the lance of his standard.” *Mémoires sur la Grèce*, p. 457.’

the Greeks are the subjects on which this power has been and is (at least as far as Western Europe is a witness) most visibly exerted. It happened that the wave of Turkish invasion, which passed over Transylvania and Hungary, and beat against the walls of Vienna, was thrown back as far as Greece. To causes, as far as we can now read them, exceedingly slight and fortuitous, it was owing, that Buda and Trieste are not now governed by Pashaws, as well as Yanina or Sophia. But whether these causes were slight or grave, the event has been, that we behold in the Greeks a people, degenerate, indeed, but essentially civilized; superstitious, but belonging to the Christian church; ignorant, but acknowledging our standard of improvement; sprung from the European stock, notwithstanding a partial adoption of Oriental manners; and, with all this, held in abject political subjection, not to say personal servitude, to a barbarous, oriental, Mahometan tribe, which, after four hundred years' encampment in Europe, remains as alien as ever to our religion and our civilization. At present we say only, that a people so situated must be allowed to stand in a very interesting political situation. We have already touched on the points of interest and curiosity in the other party to this contest,—the Turkish government and people; an Oriental people, who, although the most exposed to European influences, seem most jealously to have clung to the peculiarities of the East; on whom the new principles of the modern social system have made as little impression, as the new arts of modern invention; who know as little of public opinion, as of the art of printing; but who possess (and not, as was till lately thought, in their ruins) the elements of that politico-religious organization, which formerly carried them and other tribes of the Mahometan stock, from the great wall of China to the western shores of Africa. Whether we contemplate this party to the contest in its own direct efforts, or as aided by its tributary powers, the Regencies of the Barbary coast, and by its formidable vassal, the Bey of Egypt, who comes to lay waste poor Greece, with forty thousand black savages, from the upper falls of the Nile, trained in the war with the fanatics of Arabia Felix, drilled by English and French colonels, and convoyed by frigates built at Marseilles, and steamboats built in London,—we must needs admit that there is an adventure and a romance of real life and modern times, beyond all the fictions of the poets.

Nor is it merely as matter of high-wrought interest, that the

revolution in Greece demands our attentive consideration. The question at issue in its result, the political condition of the Greeks, is one of incalculable importance to themselves, and the whole family of civilized man. Merely in its probable connexion with the general politics of Europe, and in the effect it may have upon the relations of the great powers with each other, it bids fair to become a subject scarcely less important than the revolution in France. The three great powers have been obliged to act upon the subject; the thing, unquestionably, which they dreaded quite as much as the responsibility of any particular measure; and if such was their reluctance to act at all, the event has justified it; for the first consequence of their united action is the battle of Navarino, and the destruction, by the allies of Turkey, in time of peace, of the Turkish marine,—a movement not fairly avowed by either party, and expressly disclaimed by the British. What must be the deliberate consequences of a policy, whose accidents are of such tremendous magnitude?

Our object, in these preliminary remarks, is to convince our readers, if they needed to be so convinced, that the subject of the work before us is of great importance and interest. Dr Howe relates the history of the Greek revolution for the first seven years of its duration. He takes it up at its commencement, and brings it down to the period of the battle of Navarino, an event which marks an entirely new era in its progress; and, whatever may be the future fate of Greece, closes up the narrative of her revolutionary struggle. We regard Dr Howe's work as one of great value. He has modestly denominated it a *Historical Sketch*, and has assigned the reasons, in his preface, which prevented him from rendering it more systematically perfect in all its parts. It possesses, however, all the essential merits of a work of the nature of a contemporary history. It is sufficiently comprehensive, without dealing too much in generals; and there is detail and incident enough, to bring the subject home to the imagination of the reader. The preparation of the work, as is frankly avowed in the preface, was effected in haste.* The execution is somewhat careless, and

* We have heard it said, but we do not vouch for the truth of the statement, that the appearance of Dr Howe's work was hastened, to prevent its being forestalled by a bookseller's job, got up under the name of a 'History of the Greek Revolution,' and which, before Dr Howe's was well through the press, was peddled through some portions of the United States as *Howe's History of the Greek Revolution*.

occasional inaccuracies may perhaps be detected ; but, taking it together, we believe it presents a more perfect and complete sketch of the revolution in Greece, than can be found in any other of the numerous productions having the same object in view.

We think it a great recommendation of Dr Howe's work, that it evinces an unusual independence of judgment. Most of those, who have written on the struggle of the Greeks, have either vilified or panegyricized them. They have alternately been painted in the darkest and brightest colors. Dr Howe has done what became an honest man, who possessed ample opportunities of personal observation, who had seen both the bright and the dark side of the Grecian character. He has not scrupled to expose the intrigues and factions of the politicians, the selfishness of the military chieftains, and the ignorance and barbarism of the lowest class of the community. He, at the same time, has done justice to the patriotic efforts and sacrifices, both of the mass of the people on the one hand, and of many disinterested and heroic individuals on the other, and to the high character of many distinguished men. Dr Howe is plainly the slave neither of enthusiasm nor of spleen. Especially he does not find it necessary, like some of his predecessors, to give vent to a systematic aversion to free institutions, and a secret despair or scorn of all attempts to improve the political condition of men, by railing at the Greek cause. He is not one of those, who never see anything amiss in antiquated systems of government, nor anything hopeful in efforts to reform them. No one of those, who have written on Greece, whose works have fallen under our notice, has had better opportunities than were enjoyed by Dr Howe, in his three years' residence in Greece, and in his participation, by land and by sea, of the perils and labors of the war. No one has spoken with more manly freedom of the excesses, which have at times stained the Grecian arms, and of the selfish and narrow policy both of political and military leaders ; and yet from no book on Greece that we have read, do we rise with better hopes of the Grecian cause. We feel that we can trust Dr Howe, in his favorable anticipations, because we see they are those of a fair and impartial man.

There is no defect in the style of this work, but that which arises from the haste of preparation, and which detracts little or nothing from its substantial value. There is an occasional harshness of judgment in estimating character and conduct,

which, in cases where the author does not speak from personal observation, may be thought unduly severe. We are inclined to quote, as the most conspicuous instance of this, the opinions expressed of Alexander Ypsilanti. Our own views of his character are considerably more favorable, than those expressed by Dr Howe. We are disposed to make great allowances for the difficulties of his position, and have strong doubts, whether any man could have effected more than he did, under the inauspicious and unforeseen circumstances in which he was placed. We might also extend our charity to some of the prominent political leaders, of whose characters Dr Howe speaks with great freedom.

We have very sincerely professed our reliance on his means of observation, and his disposition to use them fairly. But Greece, like every other free country, is rent by parties. Every man belongs to some one or other of the factions, and regards the members of every party but his own with an unfriendly eye. The foreigner cannot well avoid imbibing some of these prejudices. If his associates are exclusively of one side, he is apt to make common cause in their antipathies. If he mingles with all parties, he alternately hears them all vilified. We have only to reflect, what sort of an account a foreigner, who had passed the last four years in the United States, would be apt to write home of our most prominent public men, forming his opinion from the common sources of information, and we can better understand the danger there is of error, in forming an estimate of the characters of the political leaders in Greece.

But it is time to attempt a very hasty sketch of the leading incidents in the Grecian revolution, following the guidance of Dr Howe's work. In doing this, we shall occasionally describe occurrences in a manner differing from that, in which other writers have presented them, sometimes to the advantage, and sometimes to the disadvantage of the Greeks.

We have in a former number of this journal * related the history of the rebellion, and downfall of Ali Pacha,—circumstances which precipitated the movements of the Greek patriots. Our number for October last contained an account of these movements in Moldavia and Wallachia, with a more favorable estimate of the ability and conduct of Alexander Ypsilanti, than appears to have been formed by Dr Howe. The breaking out

* No. 22, for January, 1824.

of the revolution, if it found the Greeks at large unapprized of the contemplated design, took the Turks not less by surprise. Notwithstanding the large number of persons, who, as members of the *Hetaireia*, must have been in the secret of its plans, it does not appear, that an individual proved treacherous. The first certain intelligence, which the Turkish governors, in any quarter, received of the project of the revolution, was in the overt acts of the patriots, who rose to carry it into effect.

This was done in the Morea, by Germanos, the bishop of Patras, on the fourth of April, 1821. On this day he displayed the cross, and called on the people to rise, as one man, against their oppressors. This call was obeyed in every part of the Morea, which has remained, to the present day, the chief seat of the revolution. Confidence was given to the early movements in this quarter, by the adhesion of Petro Mavromichalis, the bey of Maina, the most independent district of continental Greece, who promptly repaired, with his hardy mountaineers, to the sacred standard. Colocotroni, who has since, with various reputation as commander in chief of the Greek army, figured in the revolution, crossed over from the Ionian Islands, with his gallant nephew Niketas, and assisted in organizing the revolt. By the seventeenth of April, Germanos had invested Patras with a tumultuary army, and driven the Turks, to the number of five thousand, from the lower town to the citadel. The flame, meantime, spread to the islands, and a small fleet of vessels from Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara was soon ready to annoy the Turkish power, on the favorite element of the Greeks.

On receiving the tidings of these events, Kurshid Pashaw, the governor of the Morea, who was then employed in Albania, in the reduction of Ali Pashaw, despatched a lieutenant, with five or six thousand men, across the gulf of Corinth, to suppress the revolt. Mohammed (this was the name of the officer detached by Kurshid) found no difficulty in traversing the Morea in all directions, and driving the ill-organized bands of the Greeks to the mountains. His rapid march, at this commencement of the revolution, was marked with blood. But it was not long before he received a check at Lalla, from a party of patriots, raised in the Ionian Islands, and debarked on the western coast of the Morea; which taught the Turks that their enemy was not to be despised, and served to the Greeks as an

omen of success. Their Guerilla parties began to concentrate in the highlands that encircle Tripolizza.

When the news of the revolutionary movements in the Morea reached Constantinople, the most horrid outrages ensued. Christians were everywhere insulted; the Greeks were hunted down, like wild beasts, in the streets, and the venerable and unoffending patriarch hung at the door of his church. These atrocities were but too faithfully imitated in Asia Minor, and the other parts of the Turkish Empire, where the Greeks formed but a small portion of the population. The tidings of these cruelties, however, as they were circulated throughout Greece, served but to arouse those who had hitherto remained undecided, and to convince all who bore the name and professed the religion of Greeks, that the hour was come, when they must shake off the yoke or be exterminated.

The leaders in the Morea were not slow in feeling the necessity of such a political organization, as should give stability to the revolution at home, and render it respectable in the eyes of the world. They accordingly convened the principal citizens at Calamata, and assuming the name of the Messenian Senate (from the province in ancient Greece, in which this region was included), they elected Petro Mavromichalis as their president. Decrees of this body were issued, tending to the organization and direction of the military force, and the general government of affairs. Navarino and Monembasia were already invested by large bodies of armed peasantry. The senate directed the siege of other Turkish fortresses; and the blockade of Tripolizza was entrusted to Colocotroni, at the head of the principal embodied force, amounting to six or seven thousand men. The attention of the assembly at Calamata was next turned to foreign countries. They issued a manifesto to the nations of Europe, and another addressed to the citizens of America, invoking the sympathy and aid of the friends of liberty throughout the world. The latter address was transmitted to America by the deputies sent to Paris, by the Senate of Calamata, and was published in the original, in this journal for October, 1823. It was read with strong interest throughout the United States, and had considerable effect, in awakening the feelings of our citizens to the condition of their brethren in Greece. Before closing its session, the Senate of Calamata vested the powers of government, which they had assumed, in a commission of seven persons, and then adjourned

to meet again at Tripolizza, the fall of which was confidently expected.

About this time, Demetrius Ypsilanti, a younger brother of Alexander, arrived at Hydra. He had left Russia at the beginning of the revolution, and traversed the Austrian dominions in the disguise of a servant. He presented himself as an authorized representative of his brother, empowered to lead the revolt in Lower Greece. Notwithstanding the indiscreet latitude of these pretensions, Ypsilanti was received with exultation by the people and *primates* of Hydra. By some apparent coldness in his manner toward the latter, and the cordiality of his deportment toward the military chiefs, Ypsilanti fell under the suspicion of having determined to attach himself to the party of the military leaders, rather than that of the primates, or wealthy citizens, who, in consequence of their property and union by family connexions with each other, constituted a kind of subaltern aristocracy, in the more prosperous parts of Greece. Dr Howe, though entertaining no high opinion of the talent or skill for managing affairs, possessed by Ypsilanti, gives him full credit for disinterestedness, patriotism, and courage. If to these qualities he had united the practical skill which the crisis required, he certainly stood in a position to perform a part, assigned to but few men in the lapse of ages. Justly regarding the reduction of Tripolizza as the most important object to be effected, Ypsilanti attached himself to the force which was stationed near that city. Cantacuzene, one of his suite, and of an ancient Byzantine family, was despatched by Ypsilanti, to superintend the siege of Monembasia or Napoli di Malvasia, a strong fortress on the eastern coast of the Morea. Navarino, at the same time, continued to be closely invested by a considerable force.

The first naval expedition had returned to port, after gaining some small advantages, which served to inspirit the adventurers. A second and larger squadron was fitted out in May, and boldly sailed towards the Dardanelles, in search of a division of the Turkish navy, consisting of a seventy-four, a fifty-gun ship, three frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs. The fifty-gun ship was, by dexterous manœuvring, cut out of the squadron, and driven on shore, upon the coast of Eubœa, and after one ineffectual attempt, was totally destroyed, with the exception of about twenty of her crew, by a fire-ship, under the direction of a Hydriote captain. This was the first experi-

ment made of the formidable efficacy of the *fire-ships* (or *brûlots*, as they are called by the Greeks and Turks, adopting the French name), which have since become so powerful an instrument of annoyance to the Turkish squadrons. The following description of the mode, in which these fire-ships are prepared, may be acceptable to our readers.

‘An old vessel, but one which will sail well, is selected ; every thing valuable is taken out of her ; her inside is daubed with a composition of pitch and sulphur, and filled with furze, or light combustibles ; several new hatches are cut along the deck on each side, under each of which is placed a small cask of powder ; the rigging is well daubed with tar, and the ends of the yards armed with hooks, that they may catch and entangle in the enemy’s rigging. When everything is ready, a train of powder is laid from the combustibles, communicating with each cask of powder, and leading to the stern of the *brûlot* ; then with all sail set, she is run directly for an enemy ship ; the sailors (generally twenty in number) crouch behind the bulwarks, to hide themselves from the shot ; and at the moment she strikes against the ship meant to be burned, every man leaps into the boat, which is kept ready, dragging astern ; the captain fires the train, and follows them ; and leaving the *brûlot*, of which every spar, rope, and sail, is in an instant in one broad blaze, to grasp in its fiery embrace the enemy’s vessel, they pull rapidly away, with from twenty to thirty oars, and try to gain the vessel appointed to pick them up.

‘Nothing can be conceived more terrible than the situation of a large vessel thus attacked ; for though, while at a little distance, it is easy to escape a *brûlot*, yet once united, once that the train is fired, there is no hope for a soul on board ;—the only refuge from a fiery grave is to plunge into a watery one.’ p. 36.

This success at sea was received with great rejoicing, by the Greeks ; and with rage and purposes of savage revenge by the Turks. Massacres of Christians were everywhere renewed ; and not content with the sacrifice of individual victims, whole settlements were devoted by the Turks, to all the horrors of a vindictive and unrelenting warfare. The following account of the destruction of the most flourishing Grecian city in Asia Minor, will show the character of the foe, with whom the Greeks had henceforward to contend.

‘But no place suffered like Aivali, or Cydonia. This flourishing and most interesting spot was inhabited solely by Greeks ; who enjoyed the rare privilege of living under their own town rulers. There were thirty thousand inhabitants in the town, previous to the

revolution, many of whom however had fled. It had a college, and its population was one of the most enlightened of any Greek town. Situated as they were, in the heart of the Turkish empire, the thought of revolt could never have entered their minds; but the Pashaw of the province was determined that it should; he therefore, upon pretence of the discovery of a conspiracy, sent a thousand soldiers to be quartered among them. The next day a larger number arriving, began to commit every outrage upon the inhabitants, and wanted only an excuse to fall upon, and massacre them. The third day, the Greek fleet appeared off the harbor, but merely by accident, not having had any communication with it. This, however, was the signal for the Turks, who began to massacre all that fell in their way, and set fire to the houses. The inhabitants, in despair, rushed to arms; boats were sent off from the fleet; the sailors united with the inhabitants, and after a severe fight, the Turks were driven out of the town. But the inhabitants knew it was only a momentary respite; in the morning the Turks would return with immense forces, and the only refuge from death or slavery, was on board the vessels. That night was to them one of horror and confusion, more easily imagined than described; every one was anxious to get on board, with as many of his effects as he could save. About five thousand were received on board the fleet, and the next day as many more were butchered by the Turks. All the men, the young and aged, were murdered in cold blood; the women and boys, whose beauty made them valuable prizes, were carried off, to sell in the markets of Constantinople, and serve the brutal lusts of the rich. The buildings were all burnt, and of the flourishing Aivali, there remained but the ashes of its houses, and the bones of its inhabitants.' pp. 37, 38.

Meantime the siege of Tripolizza was pressed by Demetrius Ypsilanti. Mohammed, the Turkish commander, was repulsed in a vigorous sortie. News of the reduction of Monembasia reached the blockading army, and served to raise their spirits, and to depress those of the Turks. The Turkish garrison, who were made prisoners at Monembasia, were, in fulfilment of the terms of the capitulation, safely transported to Asia Minor, where they were received with contempt by their countrymen, for having consented to accept their lives of Christian dogs. The artillery, which fell into the hands of the Greeks, by the capture of this fortress, was dragged with difficulty over the mountains, and planted in battery against the walls of Tripolizza.

About this time, arrived in Greece Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, who, till the appearance of the present president,

Count Capo d'Istria, on the stage, exhibited more talent for a leader of the revolution, than any other individual. He appeared at a moment when Demetrius Ypsilanti, already an object of jealousy, not only to the primates, but also to the military leaders, was losing his hold upon the people generally, by the intelligence of the prostration of his brother Alexander in Wallachia, as whose representative Demetrius claimed to act. Some account of the family of Mavrocordato was given in our number for October last. Alexander had been employed in the service of the Hospodar of Wallachia, and fled with him from Bucharest in 1818. On the breaking out of the revolution, he immediately sailed from Leghorn to Greece, bringing with him arms, ammunitions, and supplies, which he procured by exhausting all his own means, and drawing on those of his countrymen in exile. The distinguished part, which this gentleman has taken in the conduct of the revolution, induces us to make the following extract.

‘ Alexander Mavrocordato is about thirty-eight years of age, rather below the middle height, but perfectly well made ; his fine olive complexion looks darker than it really is, from the jetty blackness of his hair, which hangs in ringlets about his face, and from his large mustachios and sparkling black eyes. His manners are perfectly easy and gentlemanlike ; and though the first impression would be from his extreme politeness, and continual smiles, that he was a good-natured, silly fop ; yet one soon sees from the keen, inquisitive glances which involuntarily escape him, that he is concealing under an almost childish lightness of manner, a close and accurate study of his visiter. He speaks fluently seven languages ; and having been an accurate observer of men and manners, *can* make his conversations extremely instructive ; his political talents are of the very first order, and his mental resources great. He has a just confidence in his own powers ; but unfortunately he has not that personal firmness and hardihood, necessary in the leader of a revolution. He cannot be called cowardly, for he will resolutely put himself in situations which he knows to be dangerous ; yet, when the danger actually arrives, he, in spite of himself, loses his coolness and presence of mind. There is but one opinion in Greece about the talents of Mavrocordato, all allow them to be very great ; but this is not the case in respect to his virtues. His friends ascribe every action to the most disinterested patriotism ; but his enemies hesitate not to pronounce them all to have for their end, his party or private interest ; and say, that he would sooner subject his country to the Turks, than have his political opponents get the credit of saving her. But here, as is often the

case, truth lies between the two extremes ; let his enemies avow that he loves his country, and has labored hard to benefit her ; and his friends confess that he is ambitious, and has always had a considerable regard to his own political interest ; and a nearer approach to his true character will be had. As to his intriguing and crooked policy, it may be said that his excellence in it alone kept up his influence ; he could not oppose the schemes of his enemies but by using the same arms he was attacked with ; the only way to escape a mine, is by countermining.

‘Without family influence, without a military reputation, and without money, he gained, and long kept the supremacy ; and the true cause of his having a party against him, was that he endeavored to reform abuses, and to introduce order and discipline into the army. He has had large sums of public money at his disposal, almost without being under the necessity of rendering the least account ; yet he is, and always has been, poor.’ pp. 50, 51.

After an interview with Ypsilanti at Tripolizza, Mavrocordato, perceiving the importance of strengthening the revolution without the limits of the Morea, and of drawing some advantage from the position of Ali Pashaw, repaired to Western Greece, and entered into negotiation with the Suliotes.

In the month of August, Navarino capitulated to the Greek force besieging it. The transportation of the prisoners to Asia Minor was stipulated. In the pillage of the town, which followed, an affray arose, of which the provocation is differently related, and in violation of the capitulation, a large number of the Turks were massacred by the Greeks. At the same time an attempt was made, by the Turkish garrison of the neighboring fortress Modon, to relieve their brethren. They were, however, met by the besiegers of Navarino, under their brave chief Constantine, the son of Petro Mavromichalis, who routed the Turks, and drove them back to Modon, but fell himself in the moment of victory. A general attempt was made by the Turks in the more northern provinces of Greece,—the ancient Thessaly, Phocis, and Bœotia,—to come to the relief of their brethren in the Morea. Their army passed Thermopylæ with ease, this renowned defile having ceased to afford any obstacles to an advancing multitude, in consequence of the accretions produced by the overflow of the saline springs, and the gradual accumulations at the mouth of the Spercheius.* In attempt-

* Instead of the narrow path, which once constituted the pass of Thermopylæ, a level meadow of perhaps half a quarter of a mile in

ing to pass the mountains into Bœotia, the Turkish force was checked, and thrown back by Ulysses, a partisan leader, who had passed from the service of Ali Pashaw into that of the patriots, and who had raised the peasantry and mountaineers of this region.

The main body of the Turkish fleet issued from the Dardanelles in August, under the Capudan Pashaw. Samos was threatened by him ; but so vigorous was the show of resistance, that no attack was made. The fleet then steered toward the besieged fortresses of the Morea, to afford them relief, which was successfully done at Coron and Modon, but ineffectually attempted at Calamata. Fearing a debarkation of troops from the fleet, with a view to the relief of Tripolizza, Ypsilanti was persuaded to quit his post before that city, and marched with a considerable force, to occupy the passes, through which alone Tripolizza could be approached. Dr Howe supposes that Ypsilanti was wrought upon to depart, by the intrigues of the military chiefs under him, who hoped to effect the reduction of the city in his absence, to impose their own terms on the garrison, and to monopolize the plunder. It may be observed, that Dr Howe's whole account of the siege of Tripolizza is less favorable to the Greeks, than the accounts given by many other writers of the same event.

After the departure of Ypsilanti from the Grecian camp, the Albanians, who formed a part of the Turkish garrison, made known to the Grecian commander their purpose of abandoning the defence of the city, and making a separate peace for themselves, to which the Greeks readily assented. Thus deserted by the larger portion of their armed forces, the remainder, and the Turkish population generally, saw the necessity of capitulating. They entered into negotiations for that purpose with Colocotroni, the mercenary chieftain, in command of the Grecian troops. At the breaking out of the revolution, the richest Turks had retreated to Tripolizza, as the place of the greatest safety. As the residence of the vizier, it was also that of a large portion of the wealthiest Turks, and nearly all the movable valuables of the Morea were collected at Tripolizza at this moment. The negotiations for surrender were accordingly protracted by Colocotroni, and the chieftains about him,

width, runs for a considerable distance along the foot of the mountain. The warm springs only remain to identify the spot.

with a view of extorting for their personal emolument, rich presents from the wealthy Turks, who sought, in this way, to make terms, and purchase protection for themselves, and their friends. In the progress of this disgraceful affair, the Greek soldiery saw that they were to be defrauded of their share of the richest plunder. The capitulation meantime was not granted, and the negotiation was brought to an abrupt and cruel close in the following manner.

‘These shameful transactions could not be concealed from the soldiery, who, mad with rage and disappointment, sought an opportunity of entering the town before all the plunder should be gone; on the third day, a party of them venturing near the wall, observed a part of it unguarded; they mounted, and displaying their flag, it was seen from every part of the camp. The effect was instantaneous; a wild rush was made from all sides, the walls were scaled almost without opposition; the gates were opened, and a confused mass of soldiers pouring in, shot, or hacked down all the Turks they met. Some streets, indeed, were fiercely disputed with the pistol and yataghan; musketry rattled from the windows, and grape was showered down from the cannon of the citadel. But the Albanians, upon the strength of the separate treaty they had made, shut themselves in the court of the Pashaw’s palace, and made no resistance. The commander, Mohammed Bey, shut himself up with several followers in the little citadel; another body fled from the town, and attempted to escape, but forty of them only passed the defiles. Those who remained, resisted indeed most furiously, but without plan or union, and they were soon put down; resistance was over, but havoc ceased not. It is useless here to follow the sickening task of detailing the horrors of the scene; suffice it to say, that Tripolitza suffered all the miseries of a town taken by storm. The bodies of five thousand Turks choked up the streets, and those of several hundred Greeks showed that resistance had been desperate. The next day the Albanians marched off, their arms procuring them respect; and they regained their country unmolested. Mahommed Bey, and the Turks, who had taken refuge in the citadel, were without water, and surrendered unconditionally. Colocotroni and some chosen followers entered it, and kept themselves shut up for three days, making arrangements for the transportation of the treasure which they found there.

‘During all this time the work of slaughter had not ceased; many Turks, shut up in their houses, defended themselves singly, and it was often necessary to burn them out; a few women, whose beauty made them valuable, some children, and the men of dis-

tion, among whom was Kiamil Bey of Corinth, were all that were spared. Thus between famine and the sword, fifteen thousand Turks perished in Tripolitza.' pp. 62, 63.

These events served as a new lesson of the necessity of a more efficient civil organization ; and a proclamation was issued by Ypsilanti, convoking a national assembly at Tripolitza. This proclamation is conceived in the worst taste, or rather shows the incapacity of Ypsilanti, for the place of a popular leader. It is in the milder manner of Napoleon addressing his subjects. Provincial governments had been organized, in the western part of continental Greece, by Mavrocordato, and in the eastern, by Theodore Negris ; but all eyes were turned to the general assembly, which was to deliberate on the affairs of entire Greece. On his way to this assembly, Mavrocordato made an attempt to obtain possession of the fortress of Patras. Owing to the negligence of the Greeks, who were in possession of the lower town, a successful sally was made by the Turkish garrison, from the citadel at midnight, and Mavrocordato himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Among his papers, which were lost on this occasion, was a manuscript history of the origin and progress of the establishment of the Turks in Europe. The national assembly, consisting of sixty members, was convened at Argos, but removed to Epidaurus, to prevent its being overawed by the military force besieging Napoli di Romania. Its sessions were opened on the fifteenth of December, 1821, and Mavrocordato was chosen president. Regarding this event as a virtual deposition from his office of generalissimo, Ypsilanti did not appear at Epidaurus.

Such were the leading transactions of the *first* year of the revolution. On the first of January, 1822, a constitution of civil government, which had been prepared by a committee of five, was adopted by the convention. This committee consisted of Mavrocordato, the president of the assembly, Theodore Negris, Germanos, the first mover of the revolution in the Morea, Karadja, and Colletti. The chief agency in preparing the constitution was probably shared by Mavrocordato and Negris ; and an edition of it published by authority in Greece, containing a lithographic likeness of the latter, with the title *ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, seems to ascribe the honor of drafting it to him. A translation of this constitution, made from a French version, may be found in this journal for October, 1823. By this constitution, the government was vested in a senate,

and an executive body of five members, assisted by eight heads of department. Mavrocordato was elected president of the executive body, and the presidency of the senate was offered to Ypsilanti, but declined by him. Theodore Negris was named secretary of state.

Ali Pashaw had now fallen, and the Turkish army, which had been kept in check by his obstinate resistance, was set at liberty. The plan of the Turkish campaign was devised with skill. The army just mentioned was to descend through Western Greece to Missolonghi, and thence cross to Patras; an army was to move through Eastern Greece on Corinth; and both were to be supplied by the fleet at these points, and march against Tripolizza.

Success, however, crowned the first movements of the Greeks. By the defection of the Albanians, Corinth and its naturally impregnable citadel fell into the hands of the patriots, and was made the seat of government. A squadron of the Turkish navy, consisting principally of Barbary vessels, was met off the western shores of the Morea, by the Greek fleet, and dispersed. Great loss would have accrued to the Turks, but for the interference of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, who announced that he considered the whole channel of Corfu, from one extremity to the other of the island, to be the port of Corfu, into which he would allow no vessel sailing under the Greek flag to enter. This wise decision of Sir Thomas Maitland would include several of the ports of Albania, within that of Corfu,—and is very much as if it should be pretended, that the whole of Long Island sound, from Hurl Gate to Point Judith, is included within the port of Huntington. This is but one instance of the fantastic tyranny exercised by Sir Thomas Maitland, which caused the accession of Sir Frederic Adam to the power abused by his predecessor, to be hailed as a blessing, both by the Ionian and the Independent Greeks.

To meet, and if possible avert, the danger which impended from Albania, the president Mavrocordato, in conjunction with the gallant Marco Botzaris, organized an expedition to act in that quarter, and prevent the descent of the Turks. This movement was, however, unsuccessful, and the patriotic army was obliged to retreat to Missolonghi. In this unfortunate expedition, a considerable portion of the European volunteers, under General Normann of Wurtemberg, nobly fell, in the front

ranks, before the overwhelming multitude of their foes. General Normann himself was wounded, but escaped. By this forced retreat of the Grecian army, the brave Suliotes were left to struggle alone in their mountain fastnesses. Here they sustained themselves during the residue of the season, till, compelled by the absolute failure of provisions, they capitulated to Omer Briones, the Turkish commander, on condition of being permitted to retire to the Ionian Islands. This capitulation was guarantied by Sir Frederic Adam, and faithfully kept.

At the commencement of the second year of the revolution, the bloodiest tragedy of this horrid war was enacted at Scio. That beautiful and fertile island had hitherto forborne to join the revolt. An appanage of the Sultana Validè, and as such, exempted from the severity of the ordinary government of the Turks, its inhabitants knew not the extent of the tyranny under which their countrymen in other parts of Greece were groaning. Near the Asiatic coast, they felt that a movement toward insurrection would involve them in instant ruin. But on the seventeenth of March, a body of Samiotes, about six hundred in number, under the command of two worthless adventurers, landed on the island, and called on the peasantry to revolt. Although they were listened to but by few, and those of the lowest class, the Pashaw of the island made it a pretence for seizing fifty of the principal inhabitants as hostages; and a detachment of cavalry was sent against the insurgents. The peasantry rose and joined the Samians, to resist their approach, the alarm spread, the Turks fled to the city for safety, and the citizens in general found themselves driven to measures of self-defence. Deputies were sent to the Morea, to acquaint the government with their situation, and the citadel was invested by the Greeks. On the eleventh of April, the Capudan Pashaw with seven ships of the line, and twenty-five frigates and corvettes, entered the harbor, and commenced the bombardment of the city. The Turks in the garrison made a sortie, at the same time, and the greater part of the Greeks immediately fled from Scio to the country. About five thousand, unable to escape, awaited the mercy of the Turk. The catastrophe must be told in the words of Dr Howe.

‘Thus master of the town, and of several thousands of the inhabitants, the Capitan Pashaw commenced his measures, to put in execution the bloody scheme planned in the Divan at Constantinople; he landed about six thousand men from the fleet, and

employed three days in bringing over a swarm of Turks from the coast of Asia Minor. While he was thus collecting his myrmidons, and setting them in array, the Capitan Pashaw neglected no means to lull the inhabitants into a fatal security, by solemn promises of forgiveness of their faults, and mercy and protection, if they would return each one to his home and resume his occupation. Many did so, relying on the faith of the consuls of England and France, who came clad in their respective uniforms, and urged the Sciotes to throw themselves on the clemency of the Capitan Pashaw. Convinced by this, many returned to the town; and about a thousand of the peasantry, openly separating from the insurgents, retired to the monastery of St Minas.

‘The fourth day the preparations of the Capitan Pashaw being completed, he ordered the Greeks who were in the monastery to be brought out, and butchered one by one. This was the signal for the commencement of that tragedy to which modern history affords no parallel; the Turkish troops gathered round the town, rushed in among the defenceless inhabitants, and began to butcher all they found. For hours every street resounded with the yells of the assailants, the shrieks of the women and children, and the groans of the wounded and dying; the shops were pillaged, the houses burst open and ransacked, the churches profaned and demolished. And a few hours were sufficient for all this; a few hours of rapine and murder had changed the beautiful town to a scene of utter devastation; to a slaughter-house still steaming with the blood of thousands of all ages, and of both sexes, whose mutilated and headless bodies, lay in every direction about the streets; but there was no human voice heard there; the whirlwind of destruction had swept over it, and left it desolate; the Turkish hordes had gone out from it, and scattered themselves over the island, to renew, in every village and in every hamlet, the work of murder and devastation.

‘For three days this went on in the neighborhood of the town, and the Turks had only unarmed and unresisting victims to immolate. But at the foot of Mount Opus, and near the sea-shore, a resistance was made by about two thousand Greeks; they were driven from their position, but not till many families had embarked in boats and fled. At Thymiana also on the sea-shore, another body defended themselves with fury for some time; some ships were brought round to cannonade them from the sea-side. But one frigate getting on the rocks, the Greeks attacked her furiously, contrived to get on board of her before all her crew had left her, and put them to death, notwithstanding their cry for quarter. The resistance, however, was short here. The Greeks soon scattered; the Samiotes had all fled; and several thousand Sciotes also put off in boats and small vessels, and saved themselves at Ipsara.

There were now no armed men to offer resistance ; the interior of the island was filled with the fugitive families from the sea-coast ; and there was full scope for the exercise of the fury of the Turks, who thought the blood of a Christian an acceptable offering to God. They divided themselves, therefore, into small bands, and swept over every part of the island, plundering, burning, and murdering. The Greeks who ran away, were shot down, or pursued and stabbed ; those who gave themselves up, were violated and murdered ; the desperate man who resisted, shared the same fate as the timid wretch who clung to the knees of the barbarians, and screamed in vain for mercy. None were spared but the handsomest of the women and children, who were sent to town, and reserved for sale.

“ Such was the state of the beautiful Scio for seven days. “ My God ! ” says an eye-witness who escaped, “ what a scene was then presented ! On what side soever I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, and conflagration, and murder appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the country-houses of the rich merchants, and others setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the yataghans and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in the favor of the women and boys, who were preserved to be sold as slaves. Many of the former were running to and fro half frantic, with torn garments, and dishevelled hair ; pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a preservation from the greater calamities that awaited them.” The carnage then ceased for a time ; and those wretches who had been reserved for sale, were driven to the town, where more than ten thousand women and children were collected. The boys were circumcised, in order to fit them to become Mussulmans, and the whole embarked on board the fleet, to be conveyed to Constantinople. The Capitan Pashaw, in order to renew the fury of his soldiery, then took the eighty hostages, the oldest and most respectable men of the island, and hung them up at the yard-arms of his vessel ; and the signal was instantly answered from the shore, by the butchery of seven hundred peasants, who had been confined in the citadel.

An attempt was then made to induce those of the Greeks, who in great numbers had fled to the mountains, and the almost inaccessible parts of the island, to come down and give themselves into the hands of their masters, who promised them mercy ; and, strange to say, many of them did do so, and were all butchered, except those whose beauty made them valuable.

“ The Capitan Pashaw then sailed, his vessels laden with the beauty and booty of the once lovely Scio, but which was now a solitary waste, covered with the smouldering ruins of its villages,

and the putrifying carcases of its inhabitants.* And where were now the eighty thousand people whom he found there? Twenty thousand had been butchered; twenty thousand he was carrying into captivity; fifteen thousand had escaped to the neighboring islands; the rest were now hiding among the rocks and mountains, like the beasts who are hunted from the plain. Many of them were taken off by the vessels sent to them from the neighboring islands. But several thousand took refuge in the houses of the different European Consuls, whose flag they knew would protect them from the Turks.

‘And how did these worthy representatives of the illustrious monarchs, who unite in “Alliance,” yclept “Holy,” for the peace and happiness of the world; how did these consuls treat the miserable fugitives, who had cast themselves upon their mercy, and the faith of their flags? Are the stories of their courageous defence of these wretches, their generosity and philanthropy in sending them off free, to be credited? No! just the contrary; they coldly speculated upon their miseries; they gave them their liberty, it is true, but it was only at the price of the last valuable they might have preserved from the destruction of their houses. The men were obliged to pay, or obligate themselves to pay, large sums to the consuls for their protection; and the women were obliged to strip off their jewels, or their rich garments, to satisfy these rapacious representatives of Christian tyrants.’ pp. 99–102.

As far as the individual was concerned, who personally perpetrated these horrors, the Turkish Capudan Pashaw, a speedy and memorable retribution awaited him. The Greek fleet soon appeared off Scio, and after taking off thousands of wretched fugitives from the mountains, some of whom have since found a refuge in our own country, it went round to attack the Turkish navy, lying in the straits between Scio and the main. Unable, however, to effect anything in a general action, the heroic Canaris assumed to himself the office of the avenger. In company with a Hydriote vessel, he sailed in his

* ‘There is no want of testimony, or good evidence of the catastrophe of Scio. The only difficulty is in ascertaining the numbers of the sufferers. Besides the numerous respectable Greeks who escaped from the horrible scene, it was visited a few days afterwards by several Europeans of respectability; by an English naval officer particularly, whose description is most touching. Colonel Voutier, among other striking passages, has the following words;—“He told me, that no sight gave him such sensations as that of the body of a woman just dead, and whose breasts were eagerly pressed by her moaning infant child.”’

fire-ship to the straits of Scio. Deceiving the vessels stationed on the look-out, he sailed at nightfall directly into the straits, within which the Turkish fleet lay. When about to enter the gulf, the Hydriote captain hailed him, and begged him to desist, since, if the wind held in the same quarter, and he failed, they were certainly lost. Kanaris persuaded the prudent seaman, that the wind would change. His crew now began to hesitate; they were getting more and more embayed; the wind was aft, and a long row of Turkish line of battle ships and frigates was discerned by their lanterns stretched across the gulf. The sailors became refractory, and refused to proceed. Kanaris said to them, 'You came voluntarily, the ship shall go on, and you may go with her, or jump overboard.' The residue must be told still more exactly in the words of Dr Howe.

'The first they could distinguish were several Turkish frigates; but these were too ignoble prey. Kanaris had come to revenge the blood of Scio, and nothing but the blood of the leader of the barbarians could atone for it. The moon shone clear; he was in the middle of the Turkish fleet, which, securely anchored, dreamed not of danger; and he could see on the other side of the straits, the huge ship of the Capitan Pashaw. Altering then his course, Kanaris bore down for him, and was soon within hail. "Keep away! keep away!" cried the Turkish guard. Still the fireship came on;—when the wild cry of "*Brulotta, brulotta*," apprized Kanaris that he was known. That dreadful cry had aroused the sleeping Turks, and hundreds rushed to the deck in confusion. They began to fire; but still the strange sail rapidly approached them. All Kanaris's men were crouched behind the bulwarks and sheltered. He alone stood up, and, strong in his terrible resolution, steered his vessel full on the Pashaw's ship, regardless of the shot, which began to whistle around him. In a few minutes his bow struck her side with a terrible crash, and became entangled. Instantly the boat was lowered, every Greek sailor jumped into it, and Kanaris himself, after crying out "*Κανάρις έίται*,"* touched the train, and following his men, they pulled rapidly away. The train communicating with the combustibles, they burst forth in one broad blaze, which instantly began to envelope the Turkish ship; where a scene of horror and confusion ensued among the twelve hundred persons on board, more easily imagined than described. Nothing could be done on the crowded and choked up decks, to separate the vessels. Orders could not be heard, nor, if heard, obeyed; and the Greeks could only dis-

* It is Kanaris.

tinguish amidst the wild uproar of voices, the agonizing shrieks of those, who leaped overboard in despair. The sails and cordage were all in a blaze, and the fire dropping down, kindled everything on deck. The boats were lowered, but instantly staved or sunk, by the numbers who rushed into them. The Capitan Pashaw and his officers succeeded in getting into a pinnace; and by cutting away, with their scimetars, the hands of the swimmers who clung to her, he got a little way from the ship, when the mainmast falling, struck his boat, and crushed him to death with every one in her.

‘The Hydriote fire-ship had struck a Turkish seventy-four, and was fired; but unfortunately she bounded off, and did no harm. The two boats, pulling each twenty oars, rowed rapidly down the straits, which were illuminated by the bright glare from the burning ships; at daylight they were off Cape Blanco, and at ten A. M. fell in with two Greek vessels which were cruising for them, and got safely on board without having lost a man.

‘The successful accomplishment of this daring act completely established his fame; congratulations poured in upon him, and every Greek was proud of the name of Kanaris, except Kanaris himself. He is by birth an Ipsariote, and had hitherto been known only by those immediately about him, who loved him for his mildness, and goodness of heart, and respected him for his sterling integrity. No one would ever divine the character of Kanaris from his personal appearance. He is about thirty-four years of age, of low stature, slender but well made; and his mild, interesting countenance bespeaks rather feminine goodness of heart, than what he really possesses—a mind that knows no fear. He appears insensible to danger; and his resolutions, which might be easily altered by persuasion, are made stubborn by open opposition, and fresh obstacles are to him only inducements for fresh exertions. He loves his country with the sincere, unostentatious love of a patriot, and he calmly and steadily continues to make every exertion for her good, in the conviction that he is doing only his duty. He boasts not the performance of that, of which the neglect would be a crime, and seems to look for no other reward than the proud consciousness of having materially contributed to his country’s emancipation.’ pp. 105–107.

Such are the men who are pronounced *degenerate* even by intelligent persons in Western Europe and America!

On the twenty-first of June, the Acropolis of Athens, after a closely pressed siege, surrendered to the Greeks. The garrison, about eleven hundred in number, capitulated, on condition of being transported to Asia Minor. Under pretence of retaliation for former cruelties, committed by the Turks on the

Athenian hostages, whom they hung from the battlements of the Acropolis, some of the prisoners were the next day put to death.

In the month of June, Napoli di Romania, the most important fortress in Greece, strong by nature, and rendered nearly impregnable by the constructions of the Venetians, was reduced by the Greeks, after a long and strict siege, to agree to terms of capitulation. A delay of forty days was granted, for the purpose of effecting the evacuation and surrender of the place, and with the humane design of preventing, by gradual removal, the plunder of the property, and the massacre of the garrison. During this period of forty days, a formidable army of thirty thousand men,* collected in Thessaly and the neighboring region, and placed under the command of Mehemet Pashaw of Drama (commonly called Drami Ali Pashaw), advanced without opposition into Phocis and Bœotia, committing on their way ravages unheard of, even in the annals of Turkish warfare. Marking his track with desolation, and, through fear or treachery, allowed to pass without opposition through the numerous defiles on his march, Drami Ali reached the plain of Argos, and raised the siege of Napoli.

The impending ruin awakened the Greeks to a sense of their danger. The members of the government embarked on board the Hydriote vessels, which lay in the gulf. Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and Mavromichalis were constituted a military commission, with plenary powers. The peasantry were roused; the Mainotes obeyed the voice of their aged chief, and came down from their mountains, and the crops on the plain of Argos were laid waste, to prevent their furnishing sustenance to the foe. The Turkish commander soon found himself embarrassed by his own numbers. He was harassed by partisan and nocturnal assaults. He was without supplies for his own army, or the garrison he had come to relieve. The unripe grapes and melons of the neighboring fields were devoured by the Turks, and the dysentary began to prevail among them. In a few weeks their position became desperate, and they commenced a retreat. The Greeks had now not merely recovered from their panic, but had gained confidence from the disasters of the foe. Niketas occupied the passes of Barbat

* So stated in Colonel Leake's 'Outline,' on the authority of a physician of Kurshid Pashaw, who stood, with the Pashaw and his officers, for three days, by the side of a bridge over the Spercheius, by which this army defiled.

and Dervenaki, at the outlet of the plain of Argos, while the flanks and rear of the retreating army were pressed by Colocotroni. From five to seven thousand of the Turks were destroyed in forcing the passage. At each defile the same destruction awaited them, and Drami Ali was able to collect a remnant of only eight thousand men, from the ruins of this disastrous expedition. With these he received renewed orders from Kurshid, the Seraskier, to penetrate again to the plain of Argos, and relieve Napoli. This attempt was made by him ; but the passes were still occupied by the indomitable Niketas, and Drami Ali, with a new loss of one thousand men, fell back on Corinth. Three thousand men of his force, in endeavoring to cut their way from Corinth to Patras, were surprised in a defile, by Londos, and forced to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back into Thessaly.

The only hope of the Turkish garrison in Napoli was that of being relieved by the fleet. It actually appeared off the gulf, with the new Capudan Pashaw, in great force, on the twentieth of September. The Greek squadron hovered around it, and made several attempts, by sending in their brulots, to destroy some of the vessels of which it was composed. Although these attempts were unsuccessful in their immediate object, the Turkish admiral fled panic-struck from the infested waters, and took refuge behind Tenedos. The terrible Kanaris, with two fire-ships, pursued him. On the twenty-first, at midnight, he passed the Turkish guard-ships, unperceived at the moment, but soon found they had tacked, and were standing after him. Nothing daunted, he still bore down on the Turkish fleet, which lay at anchor in the channel, consisting of one ship of the line, sixteen frigates, sixteen corvettes, and thirty-four smaller vessels. Steering for the three largest ships, and passing the one to windward near enough to hear talking on board, but leaving her for his companion, who was astern, Kanaris made for the next, which proved to be the Capudan Pashaw. As he approached, two guns were fired, and the shot passed through his mainsail ; still he bore on, and could see the poop crowded with men, who were confusedly crying out, ' Pirates ! *brulotta !* fire upon her ! ' In a few minutes his bowsprit crashed against her side, and the two vessels came together with a shock that threw the men from their feet. Kanaris, as usual, touched the train, and was the last to leave his ship. In an instant the Turkish admiral was wrapped in

flames. The Capudan Pashaw, and those in the boat with him, alone escaped. No exertions were made to extinguish the flames, and the stupefied Turks perished on board the vessel, or leaped overboard and were drowned. The other fire-ship failed to do any execution, beyond that produced by the panic flight of the enemy. Kanaris and his companion escaped unhurt to the vessels left to cruise for them; and the Turkish fleet, after suffering severely from a storm, returned to Constantinople.

Deprived of the succors which they expected from the fleet, the garrison at Napoli were reduced to the near necessity of surrendering. The event was hastened by a surprise, gallantly executed by a Captain Staikos, who scaled the upper castle, called the Palamede, in the night. Thus exposed to the guns of the citadel, the garrison below found themselves obliged to capitulate, and on the sole condition of having their lives spared. This condition was faithfully observed, and they were transported, on board the Cambrian, Captain Maitland, and other vessels, to Asia Minor.

While this important event took place in the Morea, Mavrocordato and Botzaris sustained themselves, with great vigor and fortitude, at Missolonghi, and the campaign closed with the gallant exploit to which we alluded in our introductory remarks.*

Thus successful on the whole was the progress of the revolution, at the close of the second year. The *third* commenced with a change in the Greek government. Mavrocordato had suffered in the popular estimation, by the want of success in the military operations of Western Greece, and the party opposed to him (that of the military leaders) elected Petro Mavromichalis president of the executive in his place. Theodore Negris had attached himself to the successful party, and remained in the department of state.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the Turks, was precisely that of the last year;—a descent from Eastern and Western Greece, and a concentration in the Morea. Mustapha Pashaw commanded the eastern, and Omer Briones the western division of the Ottoman army. Considerable delays ensued in the commencement of military operations, owing, among other causes, to the dissensions and open hostilities of Omer Briones, and Yusuf Pashaw of Patras, who had been

* See page 139.

directed to coöperate with him, but with whom Omer refused to act. The campaign was opened by the celebrated battle fought by Marco Botzaris, at Karpenitza, in which the Turks were surprized and routed, but in which also, unfortunately, the heroic Botzaris, to the poignant regret of all Greece, was himself slain. A junction was afterwards effected between the remnants of the army of Mustapha and that of Omer, and their united forces laid siege to the small town of Anatolico, in the neighborhood of Missolonghi. This place was garrisoned only by about five hundred men ; but after a protracted and inefficient siege, the Turkish army retired and dispersed itself, without having accomplished anything ; and thus, as far as Western Greece is concerned, terminated the third campaign.

The Turkish operations in Eastern Greece were not much more successful. Their army penetrated at first, as far as Athens and Megara, wasting the country as they passed. They were, however, effectually harassed by the *guerilla* parties of Ulysses and Niketas, and finally forced to take refuge in the fortresses of Eubœa. Disappointed of being succored from Thessaly, the Turkish garrison, which had remained in possession of the citadel of Corinth since the invasion of Drami Ali the preceding year, was now forced to capitulate to the Greeks, and was transported to Asia Minor.

The Grecian fleet was sent this season to sea, under the command Andreas Miaulis. We cannot refrain from giving his character in the words of Dr Howe.

‘It is delightful to contemplate such a character as that of Miaulis. As the eye, in a dry and barren landscape, delights to rest on some patch of verdure which may chance to appear, so the mind, wearied with contemplating the selfishness and vices of the leading Greeks, turns with pleasure to Miaulis, for a striking proof that all good has not departed from them. Miaulis was born at Hydra, and educated on the water. He is about sixty years of age. His frame, large and rather corpulent, is well made, and full of vigor. His countenance is one of those most difficult to describe, yet most strongly impressive ; it inspires with affection and respect ; and though there is no mark of greatness about it, yet you see there the kind heart, the firm mind ; you know not why or wherefore, but you see in his face enough to convince you that it is the face of an *honest man*. His complexion is light, and rather florid ; his features strongly marked ; the nose particularly large ; and his eyes of a mild hazel color. Strangers are always struck with his patriarchal appearance, and after ever

so short an interview, go away satisfied that there is at least one honest, pure patriot in Greece.

‘Miaulis inherited some property from his father, and like all his fellow islanders, he followed the sea from his youth. For a great number of years he sailed in his own ship, and by commerce gained a very considerable fortune; and always stood high in character among the Hydriotes, who were *then* remarkable for their *integrity in mercantile transactions*.* He had long sighed for the liberty of his country, though enjoying everything that wealth could command. Though his native island was never sullied by the foot of a Moslem, and escaped all direct oppression, by the payment of an annual tribute, and the supply of a quota of seamen to the Turkish fleet; still, in common with many around him, he felt bitterly the degradation of Greece, and was ready to risk fortune and life in any rational scheme for her redemption. He was averse to the struggle being commenced at the precise period it was commenced, because he did not consider the people sufficiently enlightened, to conduct it to a favorable issue; but when once the blow was struck, he embarked heartily in the cause, and has ever been foremost in exposing himself, in sacrificing his fortune, in giving an example of obedience to government, and perfect disinterestedness of action.

‘Such is the man who commanded the Greek fleet; and so irreproachable is his character, that even in Greece, where the people are so jealous and suspicious of their leading men, that the least foible cannot escape them, no voice is ever raised against Miaulis; all parties unite in considering him perfectly pure and disinterested in his patriotism. And a doubt expressed of it, would sound as strange to a Greek, as it would to an American to hear the patriotism of Washington questioned.’ pp. 155–157.

* ‘Conversing with Mavrocordatos a few days before I left Greece, I expressed to him my doubts about what I had often heard, of the honesty and good faith of the Hydriotes previous to the commencement of the revolution. He replied, “I do not wonder at it; it is hard to conceive how seven years should so completely change a body of men; yet so it is. War, and its attendants, anarchy and confusion, have altered the Hydriotes from an industrious, sober, and honest people, to what you now see them. Such a thing as a note or bond was almost unknown; a merchant would lend another money, and only request him to make a minute of it; he would ship goods on board a vessel, and take no bill of lading; vessels would come into port, and the captain and crew run to see their friends, leaving the vessel unlocked, and perhaps specie on board. Shops were left open by their owners without fear, and often the shutters only closed, and the door latched, during the night. This was the case, also, in Spetzia and Ipsara; the word of a merchant or a sea-captain was sacred.”’

No very brilliant exploit was performed by the Grecian squadron this year ; but the islands, particularly Samos, were protected, the Turkish navy watched and harassed, and several predatory descents made on the coasts of Macedonia and Asia Minor, which, while they served the purpose of preventing the Turkish local governors from despatching their contingent of troops to the remote centre of the war, furnished the Greeks with an ample store of needed supplies.

But the year 1823 was signalized in Greece by the appearance of a new and formidable actor on the scene. A contingent to the Turkish navy had been, from the commencement of the revolution, furnished by Mehemet Ali Pashaw, Bey of Egypt. A very interesting biographical sketch is given by Dr Howe of this distinguished individual, for which, however, our limits compel us to refer our readers to the work itself.* His agency in opposing the Grecian revolution during the present campaign, was limited to the assistance rendered by his vessels, under Ismael Gibraltar, in carrying on the defensive operations of the Turks in Candia, where, as in so many other parts of Greece, the revolution had resulted in the confinement of the Turks to the fortresses, and the possession of the open country by the Greeks. At the close of the ensuing year, we shall witness the interference of the Bey of Egypt in a more formidable character.

At the seat of government, in the Morea, the absence of a powerful hostile force had produced the usual result, of the prevalence of factions and dissensions of an alarming character. The executive and the senate were brought into open collision. The influence of Mavrocordato was for a moment restored in the latter body, and he was called to its head. He was soon, however, compelled to seek his safety by flight to Hydra. The military party leaders were, however, at last compelled to retire from the government, and a new executive body, with George Conduriotti at its head, was elected. The detail of these movements would prove unedifying, even if made intelligible to our readers ; and we pass by them, as a portion of the narrative which truth does not permit us to suppress, but which the friends of Greece and of liberty cannot contemplate without pain. The state of Greece, at the close of the third campaign, is fairly described in the following manner by Dr Howe.

* Page 161 et seq.

‘If the Greeks, during this campaign, had gained no very great advantages, their cause at least was strengthened by the mere continuance of the struggle; as every insurrection gains strength, each moment that it is left uncrushed. They had been occupied with internal dissensions, it is true; but then they had repulsed all the efforts of their enemy to regain possession of the country. They had driven him from Eastern and Western Greece.

‘The insurrection had continued three years; the whole power of the vast Turkish empire had been turned upon one of its smallest provinces; it had been foiled, in three successive campaigns, in its attempts to put down this revolt. How was this? Had the Greeks suddenly become heroes? or were their means inexhaustible? Neither the one nor the other; the secret was, the weakness and imbecility of the Turkish government, which had neither money nor credit. The really vast resources of the empire were altogether beyond the control of the Porte. It could only command one of its Pashaws to invade a certain district; and the order was obeyed with fidelity or not, as the interest of the Pashaw might seem to dictate. Then his movements, perhaps, would be impeded, his resources cut off, his operations rendered useless, by the open or concealed opposition of other Pashaws, from jealousy or opposing interest.

‘Then there was no system in any one department of the government; no general combination of measures; no confidence to be placed in any proposed arrangements, which depended at all upon union at any particular time and place; hence the results of all expeditions were doubtful. Then there was no discipline, no subordination among the soldiers.

‘It was from all these causes, and not from the spirit and resolution of the Greeks alone, that the insurrection was gradually but surely gaining ground, and better deserving the name of a revolution.’ pp. 171, 172.

With the *fourth* year of the revolution, a new and interesting adventurer repaired to the sacred soil of Greece. We mean Lord Byron. Missolonghi was chosen by him as his residence, and the centre of his operations; and he attached himself to the policy of Mavrocordato, the ablest, no doubt, of the leaders of the revolution. Lord Byron’s name, fortune, disinterestedness, zeal, would unquestionably have enabled him to do more for the cause of Greece, than any of the foreigners who had flocked, mostly as needy adventurers, to her shores; possibly more than any of her own sons, entangled as they have been with their local factions. It is consoling, also, to reflect, that he did much, and might have done

much more, to retrieve his reputation from the shadows he had allowed to gather over it. But his premature fate removed him from the scene, before he was able, either by a long continued series of services, or any brilliant exploit, to produce a lasting impression on the condition of the country. His death was mourned throughout Greece, as a public calamity.

So stable was the cause of the revolution regarded abroad, that a loan of eight hundred thousand pounds was effected in London, on behalf of the Greek government. The history of this and a subsequent loan, both made at a most flagitious discount,—of the intrigues and frauds of agents, contractors, and stock-holders in London,—and of the struggle of rival factions to obtain possession of the loan, in Greece, has already formed the staple of several volumes. They contribute to give a character to this and the two succeeding years of the revolution, but it would not be possible to make them interesting in a summary sketch of its events.

This year was also signalized by the crisis to which the factions in the government were pushed. After a protracted warfare of intrigue between the military chieftains and the party of Mavrocordato, recourse was had to force, and some lives were lost. The struggle, however, ended in the confirmation of the authority of the rulers rightfully elected, and Colocotroni, with the chieftains combining with him, were banished to Hydra, and there kept in duress.

Great naval preparations were made by the Turks for the campaign of 1824. In the words of Dr Howe,

‘Housref, the Capitan Pashaw, made the most active exertions at Constantinople, to get the fleet ready. Great rewards were promised to the motley race of men, who styled themselves sailors; while the troops to be taken on board were reminded of Scio;—“We will give you the spoil of a dozen Scios.” Flat-bottomed gun-boats were prepared for the purpose of making debarkments; and at last, all being ready, the proud fleet left the Sultan’s lair, and gliding down the Dardanelles, spread itself out upon the beautiful *Ægean*. Here they were met by two light Greek cruisers, appointed to watch them, and ascertain their numbers; these, after sailing up and down, before, around, and among the huge frigates, and with their sails half furled up, as if in mockery of their sluggishness, spread their white wings, and darted away like sea-gulls to their rocky homes, to give the alarm.’ p. 199.

After some movements of minor importance, and having

received on board at Salonica a reinforcement of Albanian troops, the Turkish admiral ran down to Ipsara. This flourishing little settlement of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, one of the most enterprising and prosperous of the commercial islets of the Grecian seas, appears to have been taken by surprise. The defences constructed in the three former campaigns were out of repair; the inhabitants were not at their posts. The Albanians were debarked from the Turkish squadron in the night, and gained the summit of the hill that overhangs the town of Ipsara. A single glance convinced its citizens, that their only hope of escape was in their vessels. These were instantly and tumultuously crowded. All who could not reach them were doomed to the scimitar, or the horrors of Turkish slavery, and in a few hours Ipsara was a heap of bloody ashes. It remains to the present day, says Dr Howe, with no other inhabitant than a single monk. On sailing from the island, the Capudan Pashaw left upon it a considerable force, with a number of corvettes to bring them off. Before they had departed, a Hydriote squadron of forty ships, under the command of Miaulis, sailed against them. He gallantly landed a force of fifteen hundred men, and drove the Turks into the sea. Such as escaped to the corvettes were instantly pursued by the squadron of Miaulis; a Turkish brig of war was blown up, a *giolette* and a shallop taken, several gun-boats sunk, and the residue of the fleet driven ashore and lost upon the island of Scio.

The main portion of the Turkish fleet, after the destruction of Ipsara, and after a short cruise, in which they were pursued by Miaulis, was concentrated between Samos and the main. Their object was to transport an army, which was already collected on the continent, and effect the destruction of Samos. Miaulis, whose squadron had been fitted out on the spur of the moment, when Ipsara was invaded, was now compelled to return to Hydra. But the Greek vice-admiral, Sakturis, accompanied by Kanaris, was cruising with his squadron in front of Samos. Without venturing to close quarters with the Turkish three-deckers, they cut off their small vessels, and threw them in confusion upon each other, through their unmanly fear of fire-ships. Kanaris, watching his opportunity, bore down in his *brulot* upon a frigate under full sail, and succeeded in grappling to her. She was almost instantly blown up. Another Grecian fire-ship fastened successfully to a brig

of war, and a third to a corvette. Struck with terror, the Turkish fleet was dispersed in all directions, and Samos was saved.

It is not precisely known under what views of policy the Bey of Egypt engaged in the active prosecution of the war. The degree of independence which he enjoyed, negatives the supposition, that it was simply in obedience to the mandate of the Sultan. Such a mandate the Porte had no means of enforcing, against a vassal so powerful as the Bey of Egypt. A destructive fire at Cairo, and an insurrection in Upper Egypt, prevented for two years the fitting out of an expedition in Egypt against Greece; and when at length, in this year, a formidable armament sailed from Alexandria, it appeared, as its main object, to be directed against the island of Candia. Of this island, Ibrahim Pashaw, the son of the Bey of Egypt, was appointed governor, and it does not appear that, up to this period, the Porte had decided upon the dangerous measure of calling the troops of the Bey of Egypt into continental Greece.

Early in the season a most formidable expedition was fitted out from Alexandria. One hundred and fifty European vessels, principally under the Austrian flag, were employed as transports. Twenty thousand infantry, disciplined on the plan of European tactics, and two thousand cavalry, were put on board them. Vast supplies of provisions, ammunition, and artillery were collected, and every other preparation duly made. Large numbers of European officers, some of considerable rank, were engaged in the service; and the medical staff was filled up with young surgeons, principally from Italy. Thirty frigates, and many corvettes and small vessels of war, were prepared to convoy the transports. There were also three frigates, with a Turkish admiral, despatched from Constantinople (probably to act as spies), and two Tunisian frigates.

After many disasters, arising from want of skill in navigation, the expedition, creeping along the shore of Syria, and making stages of every island on the route, came to anchor at Stanchio, in the island of Cos, where the main body of the navy from Constantinople, under the Capudan Pashaw, joined them. Here they were alarmed at the appearance of the united Greek squadron of Miaulis and Sakturis, amounting to seventy vessels. Some skirmishing ensued for several days, but nothing of a decisive character. At length the Tunisian admiral's frigate and a brig of war were totally destroyed by fire-ships,

and the Turkish fleet dispersed in confusion. After an ineffectual attempt to concentrate at Samos, and destroy the settlements on that island, the united Egyptian and Ottoman navies rendezvoused in the straits of Scio. Here they were pursued by the Greeks; a frigate and two corvettes were destroyed by fire-ships, and the squadron again routed. In making their escape, another corvette and four brigs ran upon the coast of Asia Minor, and were lost.

Disheartened at these reverses, and at variance with the Egyptian commander, the Capudan Pashaw withdrew with his vessels, and returned to Constantinople. Ibrahim returned to Bodrom (the ancient Halicarnassus), on the coast of Asia, where he had debarked a portion of his troops, before sailing against Samos. Taking them again on board, he sailed for Candia; but on his arrival off the island, he was again met by the Greek squadron. Two fire-ships were sent in, but exploded without destroying any of the enemy's squadron. The panic, however, did what the *brulots*, which produced it, failed to do. The Turkish ships of war fled for their own safety, the transports were scattered in every direction, and several prizes fell into the hands of the Greeks. Eight transports escaped to Alexandria, where the captains of four of them were hung up by their ears. Ibrahim himself took refuge at Rhodes, and at this station collected the scattered fragments of his expedition. The Greek squadron, poorly provisioned, and not paid at all, was unable to keep the sea, and was disbanded; and at the close of the year there was nothing to prevent Ibrahim, with the reinforcements which he had received from Alexandria, from transporting his forces to the continent of Greece.

Ineffectual attempts were made by the Turks, in Eastern and Western Greece, without the Morea, to renew the military operations of the campaign. No achievement, however, presents itself, of importance enough to be introduced into this summary sketch; and the general condition of Greece at the close of the year, was highly flattering.

The year 1825, the *fifth* of the campaign, accordingly found the country in a hopeful condition. The enemy had been foiled at every point. The government was organized and in efficient action, from the centre to the extremities of Greece. Justice was faithfully administered; progress was made in disciplining the army, schools were established, industry began to revive, and the respectability of the government abroad was

evinced by the negotiation of a second loan, nominally of two millions of pounds sterling, in London.

The leading members of the administration, at this period, were George Conduriotti, president of the executive body, Botazi of Spezzia, vice-president, Mavrocordato, secretary of state, and Notaros, president of the senate. In this administration, Mavrocordato and Colletti (one of the members of the executive) were the most efficient counsellors. The rivalry between the two latter was the source of considerable embarrassment to the government, during the year on which we have entered. But far more serious calamities, than any arising merely from party collision, were impending over Greece.

Regarding Patras as the most important foot-hold of the Turks in the Morea, the principal attention of the government, in the spring of 1825, was turned to the reduction of this fortress. An expedition against it was planned under the command of Conduriotti, as president, attended by Mavrocordato, as military adviser. As a part of this project, a Greek blockading squadron of twenty vessels was ordered to cruise off the gulf of Corinth. But this and all other offensive movements were brought to an effectual stop, by the intelligence that one division of the Egyptian army had actually been transported from Candia to Modon, and that the fleet of Ibrahim Pashaw had returned to Candia for the residue of his troops.

As soon as these reinforcements had arrived at Modon, Ibrahim marched, with his whole army, against Navarino, a distance of only ten miles. This place was strongly garrisoned by a Greek force, and the first assault of Ibrahim was vigorously repulsed. He immediately invested the place, in all the forms of European warfare. A considerable army of Greeks was soon collected on the heights overlooking the positions of the Egyptian army; but in consequence of the superior discipline of the latter, and their possession of artillery and cavalry, served and led by European officers, the Greeks were defeated in a severe action before the town. The island of Sphacteria, opposite the harbor of Navarino, and the castle of Palio Castro, successively fell, and at length the city of Navarino surrendered by capitulation to Ibrahim. As some small compensation for this disaster, a detachment from the Egyptian squadron of two frigates, eight corvettes, and twenty-five transports, was intercepted by Miaulis, on the way from Navarino to Modon, and both the frigates, with four of the corvettes, and nearly half the

transports, destroyed by his fire-ships. Among the defenders of the island of Sphacteria, Count Santa Rosa, who had been concerned in the revolution in Piedmont, gallantly fell. Our countryman Jarvis, with a corps of eighty men under his command, was among those who were embraced in the capitulation of the castle of Palio Castro. The command in chief of the military operations in this quarter, was exercised by Mavrocordato, who was repeatedly in imminent danger, and narrowly escaped from the island of Sphacteria, when it was carried by assault.

These reverses accordingly shook the credit of Mavrocordato, and strengthened the party of the military chieftains. It became necessary to recall them from their confinement in Hydra. Colocotroni was replaced in the chief command of the army; and this event was celebrated as an union auspicious to the country. Great efforts were made, and with some success, to embody a force to operate against Ibrahim. No effectual check was, however, offered to his progress. After marching without resistance in every direction, through the southwestern district of the Morea, and destroying the towns and villages on his route, particularly Calamata, perhaps the most beautiful in the Morea, he moved on Tripolizza. Encountering no resistance at the passes of Leondari, where he might, by a resolute force, have been held in check, he pushed for the capital. A few hours' notice gave the inhabitants time to escape, with a part of their effects, and the last of them left it at one gate, as the advanced guard of the Egyptians entered it on the opposite quarter. Before it was deserted by the Greeks, it was set on fire. Halting but a short time at Tripolizza, Ibrahim resolved to press onward to Napoli, and carry that place by assault.

The extremity to which affairs were now reduced, aroused Demetrius Ypsilanti from the retirement to which he had withdrawn. Opposite Napoli, and about twelve miles distant, is the important position of the Mills. On these mills, erected upon a fine stream issuing from the marsh of Lerna, Napoli depends for flour, and (should the aqueduct, by which the city is supplied, be cut off) for water. Into this place, commanding the route from Tripolizza to Napoli, Ypsilanti threw himself with two hundred men. He immediately despatched a boat to Napoli for reinforcements of men and a supply of ammunition. The Mills being upon the sea-shore, enclosed by walls and surrounded by a garden, which was also protected by a wall,

formed a position of considerable strength. Twenty men, however, alone were found willing to volunteer from Napoli, to reinforce Ypsilanti, among whom were three Swiss and two North Americans. The main body of the Turkish army had passed the Mills without perceiving the importance of the position. The Greeks stationed there having discharged their muskets at the Turkish column, two thousand men were detached to occupy the place. They were, however, vigorously repulsed, and fell back. A party of Turks, on the extreme right of the position, succeeded in breaking over the garden wall. The Greeks behind the inner enclosure finding their fire too weak to check this impetuous assault, eleven of them threw away their muskets, and leaping the wall sword in hand, drove the Turks from the enclosure. Disconcerted at their reception, the main party made no further attempt to gain the position. Our countryman, Mr J. P. Miller of Vermont (to whom Dr Howe pays a handsome and deserved compliment) was one of those who volunteered from Napoli to reinforce the body at the Mills, and was of the party of eleven engaged in driving a much superior force of Turks from the garden.

The army of Ibrahim entered Argos, a large town about eight miles from Napoli, but found it wholly deserted by the inhabitants. His advance was pushed up within cannon-shot of Napoli. This city was now crowded, not merely with fugitives from various parts of Greece, but with the whole population of Tripolizza and Argos, as well as of the intervening villages, which had fled before the approach of the Egyptian army. Such, however, was the strength of its position, so long as the Greeks commanded the gulf of Napoli, that Ibrahim, fearing, no doubt, the fate of the army of Drami Ali, fell back the next day to Tripolizza. The flames of Argos announced that he had passed through that city on his retreat.

While these events were taking place in the Morea, the command of the Turkish armies in Northern Greece had been assumed by Kiutachi Pashaw, a leader of more force, sagacity, and skill, than any other who has appeared in the Turkish service during the revolution. He succeeded in collecting a formidable army, and having forced his way to the walls of Missolonghi, closely invested that important fortress. At the commencement of the war, Missolonghi was but a fishing town of three thousand inhabitants. It was soon perceived to be the place of the greatest importance in Western Greece, as afford-

ing a refuge to those who might at the North be driven from their homes by the events of the war, and as forming the point of communication between the entire northwestern division of Greece and the Morea. Its fortifications were a wall of unbaked bricks ten feet high, and a ditch four deep; and its only armament, four pieces of cannon badly mounted. With these miserable defences, it had, both in 1822 and 1823, sustained a siege; and during the residence there of Lord Byron in 1824, its fortifications were put on a much more respectable footing. At the period now under consideration, it contained a population of twelve thousand souls, and had four thousand men capable of bearing arms. It was the metropolis of Western Greece; schools were established there, and a Greek newspaper was published.

The Turkish besieging army of fourteen thousand men, under Kiutachi Pashaw, invested the place, according to the rules of European warfare, and under the direction of European officers. The events of this siege form the most interesting portion of the narrative of the Greek revolution, but we are admonished by our limits, of our inability to enlarge upon the subject. The advances of the Turks were as gallantly resisted, as they were perseveringly made. Repeatedly was the place relieved by the heroic Miaulis, bravely venturing with his frail vessels, in face of the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons, to throw supplies into the town. Repeatedly were terms of capitulation rejected. The season wore away, and Kiutachi found it impossible to reduce the place; and it became necessary to receive a strong reinforcement from the Egyptian army, commanded by Ibrahim in person. Notwithstanding this alarming array against them, of two powerful armies, under the two most renowned commanders in the service of the enemy, beneath their feeble walls, the heroic garrison of Missolonghi held out with unwavering resolution.

Early in the season, this year, the relief afforded by the loan to the finances of the government, enabled them to fit out a respectable squadron of fifty brigs and ten fire-ships. One half of this force was placed under the command of the chief admiral Miaulis, of whose success at the commencement of the cruise, in the destruction of a detachment of the Turkish navy, we have already made mention. His ulterior object was, to watch the motions of the Egyptian fleet at Candia (the main *dépôt* of Ibrahim), and to obstruct the communications between

that place and the Morea. The other portion of the fleet, under the vice-admiral Sakturis, was employed in observing the squadron from Constantinople, under the Capudan Pashaw. Scarcely had this squadron issued from the Dardanelles, when it was overtaken and pursued by Sakturis to the southern point of Negropont. Here an indecisive engagement ensued, which ended in the destruction, by fire-ships, of a large Turkish frigate and a corvette. Terrified by this, the whole Turkish fleet fled before the wind, and a sloop of war and five Austrian transports, laden with ammunition, shells, and cannon, for the army besieging Missolonghi, were driven on shore at Syra, and immediately taken possession of by the Greeks of that island.

The two divisions of the Greek fleet then united, and sailed with the intention of acting against that of the Egyptians in the harbor of Suda in Candia. Intelligence, however, had reached the Egyptians of the design of the Greek admirals; and the latter found the hostile fleet moored in the inner harbor of Suda, in four divisions, and in such a manner as to make it impossible to arrange any plan of attack by which more than one division at a time could be endangered. A skirmish ensued, in which one Turkish vessel was destroyed by a fire-ship. The next day Miaulis was joined by Kanaris. Nothing further of moment appears to have been effected in this quarter, and the Grecian squadrons, retiring from Candia, were subsequently employed in attempting to throw supplies into Missolonghi, which was done with great effect, in the month of July. A plan was formed in the month of August, for destroying the Egyptian squadron in the harbor of Alexandria, about to sail with reinforcements to Greece. Two brigs and two fire-ships sailed on this adventurous service, and reached the harbor of Alexandria. Owing, it is said, to some want of concert between the commanders of the fire-ships, their movements became suspicious; they were fired upon, not merely by the Turks, but by a French man-of-war, and although they succeeded in setting fire to one Turkish frigate, they were obliged to retire, without having accomplished the object of their expedition.

After his retreat from Napoli, nothing of moment was effected by Ibrahim in the Morea. Wherever he chose to march in force he was able to penetrate. But his movements were watched by strong partisan bodies, under Ypsilanti, Colocotroni, and other Grecian chiefs; and some of the skirmishes which

arose between the parties, terminated to the decided advantage of the Greeks. Enraged at being thus assailed, at the gradual loss of his men, not merely in these harassing encounters, but by sickness and casualty, and at the continuance of the burdens of the war without any decisive result, Ibrahim wholly changed the policy which he had at first adopted,—that of protecting persons and sparing the country as far as the nature of military operations allowed; and began a war of extermination against everything animate and inanimate. Quarter was refused, women and children were subjected to the worst of brutality, villages burned, and the vineyards and olive-gardens wantonly destroyed.

In the month of September, a very large reinforcement from Alexandria was landed at Navarino. Ibrahim embarked his army of the Morea, now reduced to about ten thousand men, on board the transports, and sent them to reinforce Kiutachi, before Missolonghi. With a detachment of two thousand cavalry he marched on the same destination himself, along the level, open country, on the western side of the Morea. The troops were successfully landed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Miaulis to intercept them. Ibrahim, on his land march, destroyed every village on his way, and although at Gastouni and Purgos he met with resistance, and some loss, he effected his passage to Lepanto in safety, and joined the besieging army, as we have already seen. No great cordiality appears to have existed between the two Ottoman commanders, each possessing a standing and reputation too distinguished to admit of a cheerful concert, without a common head, to which both should be subordinate. The situation of Missolonghi was, however, exceedingly critical, and gave room for the worst apprehensions.

In Eastern Greece, affairs had been more prosperous during the year 1825. We have not felt able to sketch the romantic adventures of Ulysses, and of the foreigners attached to him, who, from his cave in Parnassus bid defiance for a long time to his government, of which he had thrown off the allegiance. He was at last seized by his former lieutenant, Gourah, a brave and able soldier, and imprisoned in the Acropolis of Athens, where Gourah held his head-quarters. In attempting his escape, Ulysses was precipitated from a great height, and was killed.

The government of Greece, during the present year, was

seriously embarrassed by the discussions and intrigues of the foreigners, who had flocked, too often with selfish views, to this interesting country. Napoli was the great theatre of these adventurers; and as this was the seat of the government, and the principal point of communication with western Europe, a magnitude was ascribed to operations, at a distance, which on the spot were of inconsiderable importance. Such were the alleged projects of submission to the English government, on the one hand, and inviting the Duke of Orleans, on the other, to assume the sovereignty in the Greece; projects to which some notoriety was given in this country, by a ridiculous protest signed by General Roche, a Frenchman, and an unfortunate American adventurer, named Washington. It is not unlikely, indeed, that in the gloomy and desperate aspect of their affairs, the Greeks may have contemplated the acceptance, on any terms, of the protection of foreign civilized governments; but it is not known that proposals for such protection were ever officially made, by any competent authority.

The public mind in Greece was intensely agitated during this season, by the anxious expectation of the arrival of Lord Cochrane with a powerful flotilla of steam-boats from England, and of the reinforcement of their gallant little navy by two powerful frigates, constructed in America. These steam-boats and frigates had been provided for, out of the loans which had been negotiated in England, at a ruinous discount. But the season passed over, without the appearance of the frigates, the steam-boats, or Lord Cochrane. The painful affair of the frigates is too well known to our readers to be recapitulated here. Of Lord Cochrane's final intervention, we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

The prospects of the Greeks, at the commencement of the *sixth* year of the revolution, were far less flattering than they appeared at the beginning of the fifth. The extremity of their position called for extreme efforts, and these were not withheld. The loan had been all expended; but voluntary contributions were made, to a sufficient extent to enable a squadron of twenty-four brigs to be fitted out, under Miaulis. He immediately sailed for the relief of Missolonghi, and notwithstanding the attempts to intercept him, on the part of the Turks, he effectually relieved the place. While employed in doing it, a corvette of twenty-four guns, and one of the best in the Turkish fleet, was burnt by one of the fire-ships of Miaulis. Exas-

perated at this relief of Missolonghi, the Turks assaulted it, with all their force, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth of February, but without success. Their commander then turned his attention to the environs and approaches. Vasiladi and Noulutama, small islets or rocks at the entrance of the harbor, were successively carried. Anatolico, a more important island, next fell. By these means the command of the western portion of the basin was secured to the Turks, and the Greeks were cut off from the resource of fishing, on which they had hitherto placed great dependance. Another attempt, thrice renewed, was made by Miaulis, to throw supplies into the place, but it was ineffectual; and the garrison came to the desperate resolution of cutting their way through the besieging army. The means were found of conveying a letter to the Grecian chiefs, without the Turkish lines, imploring them, by some feint at least, to effect a diversion in aid of the sortie, and nothing remained but to prepare for this last desperate attempt.

The number of soldiers was reduced to three thousand. There were a thousand men without arms, and five thousand women, children, and aged persons. The wounded, the sick, the old, and the feeble, with the women who would not attempt to escape by flight, repaired to a mill, where a quantity of powder was deposited. They were to make resistance enough to draw the enemy about them, and it was then to be blown up. In addition to this, an old, wounded soldier agreed to take his place in a mine, under the bastion Botzaris, which was filled with thirty barrels of powder, to be exploded when the Turks had entered the town. But we must continue this scene in the words of Dr Howe.

‘The men then went round, destroying everything that was valuable; the women sat with their heads bowed upon their knees; they spoke not to one another,—they looked not to one another,—all feeling seemed lost, the stillness of desperation alone was there,—and they waited with dread, yet impatience, for the signal of sortie, which was to determine their fate.

‘On the twenty-second, at sunset, a volley was heard from the mountains. The chiefs knew that their countrymen were at hand to help them; and they sent round to warn all who were determined to sally, to meet at the Orange battery, and start at eight o’clock. Then the long suppressed feelings of human nature burst forth, then the wailings of those who were to be left,—the

agonizing sobs of wives, mothers, and sisters, who were to part from husbands, children, and brothers, half changed the stern resolution; and many determined, that come what would come, they would stay and share the fate of their sick or feeble relatives; and others resolved to try to drag them with them, and lessen their own chance of escape, by sharing it with another. Many of the women assembled at the appointed place, clad in male attire, and armed, determined at least to die, if they could not escape. The last sacrament was administered, by the bishop and the priests, to the whole population, and each one prepared himself for death. ' By eight o'clock they had almost all assembled, and four light bridges, which had been prepared for the occasion, were thrown over the ditch. It had been agreed that they should go in two bodies; one composed of about three thousand five hundred persons, principally Greeks from other parts, with but few women; the other body, composed of about as many more, but principally Missolonghiotes, with their families, were to follow the first body. The enemy had become by some means advised of the sortie, and made preparations to destroy the garrison before they should reach the mountain. The Arab corps was posted on the left in intrenchments; the army of Kiutachi on the right; the cavalry was posted in the centre of the plain, ready to act wherever it might be necessary; and a body of Arabs was stationed at the foot of the mountain.

' Almost all the Greeks had now sallied out, and were waiting in darkness and silence, to hear the musketry of their countrymen, whom they expected to attack the enemy in the rear. An hour was passed in the most impatient expectation; not a sound was heard but the voices of the enemy's sentinels, and the low wailing of women and children behind. All were uneasy and restless, when a voice was heard among them, crying "*Forward—fall upon the Turks.*" It was repeated by every voice; and the whole of the front body, rising from the ground, where they had been crouched in order to be more screened, rushed eagerly forward, and forced their way past the first of the enemy's intrenchments with small loss; pushed across the plain, and rapidly approached the mountain. A body of cavalry here met them; but they dashed on with desperate speed, the pistol in one hand, and the yataghan in the other, and the cavalry gave way before them. Uniting, however, again, the Turks hung upon their rear, and killed a great many of those who lagged. The sick and feeble, and many women, sunk down and were left; and some husbands stabbed their wives and children, who could no longer drag after them, and who were thus saved from torture. Arrived at the foot of the mountains, they were met by the corps of Arabs who were stationed there, and who tried to oppose them. But it were as

easy to stop the mad bull, and they broke through every obstacle, heedless of the danger, and gained the mountains with the loss of only four hundred of their band.

'The fate of the other body was far different. This had a great proportion of women and children in it; they were not prepared to start, when the signal "Forward" was given by the first body; many of the men were still within the place, collecting their families; they started, however, almost immediately after. But the Turks were now aroused; the cannon began to roar, and the musketry to rattle, all along their line; and loud yells of the Albanian army on the right, were heard, as they rushed to assault the town on that side. At this moment of confusion, a cry was raised among the Greeks, "*Backward, backward; to the ramparts, to the ramparts*"; and the whole crowd, without knowing why, eagerly turned, and ran towards the town. At the same moment that they entered, the Turks entered upon the other side, and they were all instantly mingled. The Greeks fought with the fury of desperate men; and the women ran shrieking towards the sea, where many plunged in, with their children. The old soldier seated in the mine now touched the train; and the tremendous explosion, which threw down the whole bastion, and destroyed many of the Turks, added to the horror of the scene. For a few moments all was still; the Greeks began each to seek some place where he could longest defend himself, or where his friends were shut up; and the Turks were uniting to make a general attack. The mill; where so many women, and all the sick and wounded, were shut up, was, from the size of the building, supposed to contain something valuable; and the Turks, eager for plunder, collected around it, and attempted to burst in; when fire was put to the powder, and besiegers and defenders were blown together into the air.

At daylight the whole Turkish army came trooping in from every part, eager to take possession of a place which had cost them so much blood and toil. And what did they find? A wide extent of smouldering ruins. The walls were thrown down, or crumbling; the streets were choked up with the rubbish of fallen houses, and strewed with dead bodies; a few buildings only were left standing, and over three of those the flag of the cross was still flying, to tell that yet a desperate few were alive, to fight under it. These were immediately attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, destroyed, with all their defenders. One of them, however, held out three days, and was then blown up;—and thus ended Missolonghi.' pp. 307—310.

About three thousand were slain in the place; as many more, principally women and children, were sold into slavery.

Of the first corps, about twenty-five hundred, in a state of the extremest exhaustion and misery, succeeded in reaching Corinth by land. We cannot but refer the reader to Dr Howe's work,* for a very touching account of the self-devotion of a Swiss surgeon, of the name of Meyer, who had attached himself to the Greek cause, and in the calm contemplation of certain death, refused to make the attempt to escape.

The fall of Missolonghi produced a general shock throughout Greece. The national assembly then in session at Epidaurus was dissolved, and its powers conferred on a commission of thirteen, which was authorized to convoke the national assembly at the end of six months. Another commission of eleven persons, was charged with the executive administration of the government. Andreas Zaimis was at the head of the latter commission.

Ibrahim returned to the Morea, after the fall of Missolonghi, with a force reduced indeed, but still an overmatch for any resistance which the Greeks could make. His operations, however, were confined to the wasting of what remained undestroyed on the line of his march, and no attempt was made by him to reduce the all-important fortress of Napoli. In a repeated and persevering effort to enter and subdue the province of Maina, he was altogether baffled.

A pretty strong force of regular Greek troops had been organized under Colonel Favier, a French officer of some celebrity. This force, in its full complement, amounted to three thousand men. It was the wish of one portion of the Grecian authorities, that it should be sent to relieve Missolonghi. Colonel Favier, however, determined on a separate expedition, and moved against Eubœa. Notwithstanding the energy and skilful military conduct of their commander, and the bravery of the troops, this expedition wholly failed; and it was owing only to the timely appearance on the coast of Eubœa of a division of the Greek squadron, that the whole party was not cut off.

After the disastrous close of the siege of Missolonghi, and the departure of Ibrahim for the Morea, Kiutachi Pashaw, the other Turkish commander, moved with his army toward Athens, by the way of Salona. He was harassed on his march by Karraiskaki, a Grecian chieftain, who had lately discovered extra-

ordinary activity in the service. But he reached the plain of Athens, without serious opposition, and about the middle of July, formed the siege of the Acropolis, which was still held by Gourah. The lower town soon fell into the hands of the Turks. The garrison of the Acropolis, a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, consisted of about eight hundred men. An army composed of the regulars under Colonel Favier, and about three thousand men under Karraiskaki, was promptly assembled in the plain of Athens. They were vigorously attacked by the Pashaw, who was obliged, after a sharp contest of five hours, to retire. He was reinforced the next day by Omer Pashaw from Eubœa, with eighteen hundred cavalry, and renewing the attack, drove the Greeks from all their positions with considerable loss. In this affair, as in his descent on Eubœa, Colonel Favier suffered severely by the failure of the field-pieces, just from London, of which the axletrees were made of cast iron! He succeeded, however, in effecting an orderly retreat.

The Turkish navy, under Topal Pashaw, consisting of two seventy-fours, twenty-seven frigates and corvettes, and seven brigs, left the Dardanelles in the month of August, and on the twenty-eighth, was fallen in with, by the Greek squadron under Sakturis. Kanaris with his fire-ships formed a part of the Greek force. An engagement ensued between the two squadrons, in the midst of which Kanaris bore down upon the Turkish admiral. His vessel attracted universal observation; the fire of the Turkish squadron was poured upon her; and having received a couple of shot between wind and water, and finding his vessel sinking, he was obliged to desert her and take to his boat. He was pursued by the barges of the Turkish fleet, but cut his way through them, and made his escape, but not without seven wounds. The Turkish admiral contented himself with this specimen of the service, and returned with his fleet to Constantinople.

It ought not perhaps to be omitted here, that a pathetic appeal was, in the month of July of this year, made to the citizens of the United States, friendly to the cause of Greece, by direction of Colocotroni, the commander in chief of the Greek armies. A letter subscribed by him, and written by his direction at the suggestion of Mr Jarvis, setting forth in plain language, the miseries of his unfortunate countrymen, produced a strong effect on the benevolent feelings of the American peo-

ple. Although not received till several months after it was written, its effect was great ; and it may, in a considerable degree, be ascribed to its circulation, that the benevolent zeal of the friends of Greece, in the country, was made manifest in the liberal succors despatched for the relief of their starving fellow Christians.*

The war in Eastern Greece and the siege of Athens were the principal objects of attention, during the rest of the season. A vigorous division under Colletti and afterwards under Karraiskaki was made, to draw off the forces of Kiutachi, from the siege, and not without effect. Adequate relief was twice afforded to the besieged Acropolis, the second time by the skill and boldness of Colonel Favier ; and the arrival of one of the long expected steam-boats from England, under Captain Hastings, was hailed with ecstasy by the Greeks. But still greater enthusiasm was excited, at the close of the year, by the appearance in the Grecian waters of the frigate *Hope*, from America. Dr Howe has, in one of the chapters of his work, given a detailed account of the affair of her construction, and of the controversy connected with it in New York. It is two years since we took occasion to discharge our duty on this subject. Seeing nothing to correct of what we then stated, and indisposed to prolong the unavailing regrets excited by this topic, we shall dismiss it without further comment.

The situation of Greece in January, 1827, being the commencement of the *seventh* year of her struggle was distressful in the extreme. It was precisely at this period, that the appeals, which had been made to the sympathy of fellow Christians in Europe and America, began to take effect ; and it is a pleasing subject of reflection, that the cargoes of provisions sent out from America, actually saved hundreds, not to say thousands of fellow beings, from starvation. The picture drawn by Dr Howe of the distress of the Greeks, from want of the necessaries of life, of food, clothing, and shelter, is of the most affecting character, and will satisfy all, who permitted their sympathy to be awakened, that it was not appealed to without cause.

Early in the year, the whole strength of the Greeks was exerted, to raise the siege of the Acropolis of Athens. A con-

* It is but justice to say, that the lead was taken by Matthew Carey Esq., of Philadelphia, in this benevolent work.

siderable force was organized under Colonel Gordon, a gallant Scotsman, who had devoted his services and fortune to the cause, and who was to act in concert with Karraiskaki and the other Greek chiefs. Their movements were made with skill and bravery, and present more of the regularity of scientific warfare, than almost anything we have noticed in the progress of the revolution. But the vast preponderance of means and power, on the part of the Turks, was eventually decisive, although the Greeks came off victorious from several partial engagements. So severely did Kiutachi, the Turkish commander, suffer, that he was obliged to send pressing orders to Thessaly for reinforcements. Ibrahim meantime, with his Egyptians, was tranquil in the Morea. The cessation of active hostilities, here led to the usual result of civil controversy; and violent disputes arose between the opposite political factions, where the next meeting of the national assembly should be held. While this controversy was at its height, Lord Cochrane, so long and anxiously expected, appeared in Greece, with a single armed vessel. His lordship's arrival was hailed with extravagant joy, and as he immediately announced, that unless the factions were reconciled, in a given number of days, he would renounce the service, an understanding was immediately brought about. The national assembly was convened at a place acceptable to both parties. By this assembly Lord Cochrane was created High Admiral of Greece, with plenary powers. But a step of still greater importance was the election of Count John Capo d'Istrias, as governor of Greece. The executive power was entrusted to him; he was to govern Greece, according to established laws, and for the term of seven years. In the event of his refusal to accept this proffer, the national assembly was to choose another governor. Sir Richard Church was, at the same time, appointed generalissimo of the land forces.

With this new organization of the civil government, highly auspicious in some respects, and believed to be so in all, the attention of the whole Greek nation was again turned to the relief of Athens. Volunteers flocked from all quarters to the camp. Lord Cochrane appeared in the *Piræus*, in the American frigate, and General Church was in command of the land forces. A partial engagement took place on the twenty-eighth of April, which terminated in favor of the Greeks.

This advantage, however, was overbalanced by the loss of

Karraiskaki, who was killed by a chance shot, in hastening to prevent his out-posts from an action on the fourth of May. In him, was lost to Greece one of her bravest and most skilful leaders. The two following days a vigorous, but unsuccessful attempt was made by the Greeks, to relieve the Acropolis. A general action ensued, in which both parties suffered severely, but which terminated in the defeat of the Greeks, who were obliged to abandon the attempt to raise the siege. At last, on the fifth of June, in obedience to an order from General Church, and in conformity with the opinion of Colonel Favier, who, it will be recollected, formed with his regulars a part of the garrison, that place capitulated to the Turks under the mediation of the French. As an unfailing spring of water (which we know from history has been flowing twenty-five centuries) had been discovered in the Acropolis during the siege, and as there was a provision of barley for eight months, the interference of General Church to command the surrender, and the willingness of Colonel Favier to capitulate, were matter of astonishment in Greece, and must be regarded as singularly unfortunate. A perseverance in standing the siege a few weeks longer, would have left the Greeks in possession of this sacred spot, at the period when a new and all-important aspect was assumed by the revolution, in consequence of the intervention of the European allies. It is unnecessary to pursue the remaining incidents of the war. No enterprise of importance, on either side, was undertaken by land. Lord Cochrane at sea effected little or nothing, and the attention of the government commission, which was acting in the interval to elapse before the arrival of Capo d'Istrias, was distracted by the contests of rival factions for the occupation of Napoli di Romania.

We have already alluded to the successful appeals made to the sympathy of the American people, in the beginning of the year. In the course of the summer, the supplies arrived in Greece, and the following extract from Dr Howe, will enable our readers to judge of the importance of the relief afforded.

‘Seven cargoes were despatched under the charge of faithful agents, who were directed to apply them solely to the relief of the wants of the old men, women, and children; “to the suffering non-combatants of Greece.”

‘It is not our duty to enter into a detail of the proceedings, by which the agents of the committees succeeded in alleviating the miseries of thousands and tens of thousands of half-starving

Greeks; we have often alluded to the wretchedness which was prevalent in the country, and it will require but a moderate exertion of fancy, to conceive the joy communicated to the refugees, who were living in caverns, and swamps, or wretched wigwams, upon the sight of the food, sent to them without money and without price. Besides, those agents are about giving to the public a detailed account of their proceedings; and we shall here merely remark, that charities never were raised from motives more honorable to the human heart, their application never was more faithful and effectual, and their reception never caused more joy and gratitude, than did those sent to the starving population of Greece.

‘The news of the arrival of those vessels, spread with astonishing rapidity through the country; it was heard in the hiding-places of the mountains, and their inhabitants came running to the sea-shore, with the eagerness which hunger alone could have given. They came from many leagues in the interior, they crowded round the vessels of our country; and those crowds presented pictures of human woe and wretchedness, which can never be exceeded.

‘They were not mere Lazzaroni; there stood a crowd of old men, women, and children, with dirty, ragged garments, bare and lacerated feet, their skins sunburnt, their countenances pale and emaciated, their eyes sunken and hollow; but they were no beggars—they had seen better days, and they stood in speechless misery. There was many an old man whose goodly sons had been cut down, and who was now demanding the charity he once dispensed; and he received his portion in silence,—he was choking with emotion, and the tears that rolled down his cheeks, were the only sign of his thanks; the women sobbed out their gratitude, and the little children clapped their hands, and danced in the fulness of their joy.

‘The wants of thousands were supplied, though the supply was only momentary; thousands put up their prayers to God for their benefactors, and their children learned first to lisp the name of America, with a blessing. The news of the distributions extending all over the country, produced a still greater effect, by the encouragement it gave to the people, who saw that they were considered worthy of having an helping hand stretched out to them from across the globe.

Permanent charity too, was administered from an Hospital, established solely by the generosity of the American public.* pp. 447, 448.

* The following letter, written at this time by General Colocotroni,

We have now reached a new and momentous era, in the Greek revolution. The situation of affairs was all but desperate. Without the Morea, resistance had ceased with the capitulation of Athens. The towns and villages from Prevesa

from the Morea, acknowledging the arrival of the provision ships, may not be without interest to the friends of Greece.

Πρὸς τὸν γενναῖον Φιλέλληνα Κύριον Ἐδουάρδον Ἐβερέρττον, καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Φιλέλληνας τῶν Ὁμοσπόνδων Πολιτιῶν τῆς Ἀμερικῆς.

Ἀπὸ τὸ γεν. Πιλ. στρατόπεδον κατὰ τὰς Πιάτρας, τῇ ε'. Ἰουλίου, αὐκζ'.

Κύριε!

Ἐχω τὴν τιμὴν νὰ ἀποκριθῶ εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ γ'. καὶ λ'. τοῦ παρελθόντος Μαρτίου, ἔτος νέον, φιλικὰς σου, τὰς ὁποίας ἔλαβον μ' εὐχαρίστησίν μου, κατὰ τὰς 1 Μαΐου, ἔτος παλαιόν.

Εἶδον εἰς τὴν πρώτην σας, Κύριε, ὅτι οἱ φιλόανθρωποι καὶ τῆς Ἀμερικῆς, λαβόντες συμπάθειαν εἰς τὰ δεινὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζομένων ἀδελφῶν των Χριστιανῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔστειλαν μὲ τὸ κομίσαν αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς σας πλοῖον, τροφὰς καὶ ἰνδύματα· καὶ ὅτι κατόπιν τούτων ἤβελον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ἄλλα διὰ νὰ βοηθήσωσι τὰς χρείας μας· καὶ σπεύδω νὰ σᾶς ἀναγγείλω εὐχαρίστως, ὅτι τὸ πλοῖον αὐτὸ ἔφθασεν ἐγκαίρως, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ διενείματο ὁ συμπολίτης σας Δόκτωρ Χάου κατὰ προσταγὴν τῶν Φιλελλήνων τῆς Νέας Ὑόρκης εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς γέροντας, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανά. Καὶ ὠφέλιψαν μὲν ὠφέλειαν οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν, διότι ἐπρόφθασαν εἰς περίστασιν, καθ' ἣν οἱ πτωχοὶ Ἕλληνες δι' ἑλλειψιν ἄρτου τοῦ ὁποίου ὑστερεῖ αὐτοὺς ἡ καθημερινὴ λεηλασία τοῦ ἐχθροῦ των, μὴ ἐπιτρέποντος εἰς αὐτοὺς, οὔτε γεωργίαν, οὔτ' ἐμπόριον, ζῶντες μὲ χρέη καὶ μὲ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν δένδρων, προϋμήνευσιν εἰς τὴν πείνάν των. Ἀλλ' ἤβλεν ὠφειλήσωσι περισσότερον, ἂν διενείμοντο εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἵτινες πολιοῦσι τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ὑπερασπίζονται τοὺς ἀδυνάτους, καὶ οἵτινες στερούμενοι αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφοσιωμένοι εἰς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον, δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ πολὺ διάστημα νὰ συνταχθῶσι κατὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ των. Διότι ὅλοι οἱ Ἕλληνες σήμερον εἶναι πτωχοὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα βοηθήματα ἤβλε σταλθῶνιν ἀκολουθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἤβλεν εἶσθαι καλῆτερον νὰ λάβωσι πρόνοιαν οἱ φιλόανθρωποι Ἀμερικανοὶ, νὰ διατάξωσι ῥητῶς τὰς εἰς παραλαβὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὰς, νὰ τὰ διανέμωσιν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα. Διότι τ' ἀδύνατα πλάσματα, ὡς γέροντες, χήραι, καὶ ὀρφανά, οἰκονομοῦνται μὲν ἐφημέρως ἀπὸ αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄντες συγκεντρωμένοι στρατοπέδου, ἔπεται, ἢ νὰ ποθέωσιν ἀπὸ τὴν πείναν, μὴ προφυλαττομένη ἀπὸ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, τῶν ὀλίγων σπαρτῶν, ἢ νὰ κατασφαγῶσιν ἀπὸ τοὺς Τούρκους· ὥστε χρησιμεύουσαι διὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα αἱ συνεισφοραί, φέρουσι πολλαπλασίαν τὴν ὠφέλειαν.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν σας εἶδον νὰ μοι συνιστᾷτε τὸν συμπολίτην σας Κύριον Μεριδίτην, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐνασχολούμενος εἰς τὰ πολεμικά μου χρέη, δὲν ἐμπορῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος νάντα μῶσω· ἀλλ' εἶμαι ἔτοιμος ἀνταμῶνιν νὰ προσφέρω πρὸς τὴν εὐγενίαν του τὰ φιλικὰ μου αἰσθήματα.

Ἦδη ἡ Ἑλλάς, Κύριε, λογίζεται εὐδαίμων ἐριδομένη εἰς τὴν φιλοανθρωπίαν τῶν ὁμοτίπων τῆς Χριστιανῶν, οἵτινες συλλυποῦνται αὐτήν, καὶ ὑποστηρίζουσι διὰ τῶν συνδρομῶν των τὸν δίκαιον πόλεμόν της· καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ φῶτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ὁποίους ἐξελέξατο ἐπὶ τὴν κυβερνήσιν της, ἐπὶ τὴν σολεαρχίαν της, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχιστρατηγίαν της· δηλαδή τοῦ ἐναρέτου Κυρίου Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια, τοῦ περιφθόμου Ἀρσένου Κοχρῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἀξιολύμου Ῥικάρδου Τζῶρτζ· καὶ τίποθεν ὅτι θίλει ἐκπηγάσουν ἐνεργεντικά καὶ σωτήρια ἀποτελέσματα δι' αὐτήν, καὶ ὅτι βίβλει φθάσει τέλος πάντων εἰς τὸν πρὸς ὃν ἔβρισεν ὅρον τὴν ἀνεξαρτησίαν της.

Ἡ ἐρὰ ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μετὰ δέκα μηνῶν γενναίαν ἀντίστησιν εἰς τὸν πολιορκη-

to Corinth, had made their formal submission, to the vizier of Roumelia, and received through the Greek patriarch the pardon of the Porte. What that pardon would have availed them in the sequel, may be learned in the history of the revolt in 1774. In the Morea, the possessions of the Greeks were confined to Napoli di Romania, the fortress of Corinth, Napoli di Malvasia, and the mountain regions, particularly Maina; and Ibrahim waited only the arrival of reinforcements from Egypt, to attempt the further work of destruction. Had it been pos-

τήν της Κιουταχῆν, μετὰ τόσα ἱερὰ θύματα, τὰ ὅποια τὸ ἔθνος προσέφερεν ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς, καὶ μετὰ τόσας συνδρομὰς μὲ τὰς ὁποίας ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῆς Εὐρώπης ὑπεστήριξε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀπέρασεν αἰσχυρὸς διὰ συνθήκης; εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ της· καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔνοπλοι καὶ ἄσπλοι Ἕλληνες, ἐπιβρασθέντες εἰς πολεμικὰ πλοῖα τῆς Γαλλίας καὶ Αὐστρίας διεσώθησαν, διασώσαντες μὲν ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν σταθερὰν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ νὰ πολεμῶσιν ἐνὸςφ ὧσιν τοὺς ἑχθροὺς τῆς πίστεως καὶ πατρίδος των. Ὁ δὲ Ἱμπερατὴς ἂν, ὡς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς εὐκαιρίας, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἔθνος προσήλυσεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Μητροπολιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὕλας τὰς κατὰ ξηρὰν καὶ θάλασσαν δυνάμεις του, καὶ καθ' ἣν ὅλα τὰ μέτα τοῦ πολέμου, διεμβύνοντο εἰς μόνον ἐκείνο τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ ἄλλο δὲν ἦτον δυνατὸν ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐλλείψεως τῶν μέσων νὰ συσταθῇ, ἂν, λέγω, ὡς ἐκ τούτων ὅλων ἀφέλῃς νὰ κἀμῃ εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, μ' ὅχι μικρὰν βλάβην του, τὰς πλέον φοικτὰς λεηλασίας, δὲν ἡδυνήθη ὅμως νὰ προᾶξῃ ἀντάξια τῶν ἐλπίδων του· διότι ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, εἴτε ὁ Ἕλλην ἀποφασισμένος νὰ ζῇσῃ ἡ νάποσάνῃ ἐλευθέρως, εἰς οὐδὲν λογίζεται τοὺς χειμάρρους τῶν αἱμάτων του. τὴν πικρὰν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ σφαγὴν τῶν γερόντων, τῶν παρένων, καὶ τῶν ἀνηλίκων τέκνων, καὶ τὴν ἀπαρδείγματοιστον λεηλασίαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τε, καὶ ἄλλα παρόμοια δεινὰ, τὰ ὅποια ὁ ἑχθρὸς τε καθημέραν ἐπιφέρει εἰς αὐτόν· ἐγκαρτερῶν δὲ γενναίως ἀπεκδέχεται τὸν θάνατον παρὰ τὴν ἄτιμον δουλείαν, καὶ ἤδη παρ' ἄλλοτε κινεῖται ἐνθουσιάζων, καὶ μὲ ὁμόνοιαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἱμπερατῆ, καὶ τὰ κινήματά του εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ οἰανοί, ὅτι θέλει παραδώσιν εἰς τὴν τύχην τοῦ Δράμαλη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἱμπερατῆ, καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι Δυνάμεις κινήσονται κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπισφραγίζων οὕτω τὴν ἐλευθερίαν του, καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος.

Φιλάνθρωποι λαοὶ τῆς Ἀμερικῆς! τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲν εἶναι ἀγνώμων εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας του· ἐυγνωμονεῖ καὶ κηρύττει τὰς εὐποιίας των μὲ Στεντόριον φωνὴν· καὶ τὰ δόγματα των καταγράφει ἤδη μὲ ἀνεξάλειπτα γράμματα εἰς τὰ χρονικά τῆς ἀναγεννωμένης Ἑλλάδος; διὰ νὰ τὰ παραδώσῃ εἰς τὴν αἰωνιότητα, καὶ εἰς τὸν σέβασμόν των ἐπηρεχομένων γενεῶν· προσφέρει δὲ μὲ τὴν ζωηρότεραν εὐχαρίστησιν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φιλάνθρωπα αἰσθήματά των. Μὴ παύσετε διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ ἐξακολουθῇτε τὰς συνδρομὰς σας, καὶ ἐστὶ βέβαιον, ὅτι ὑποστηρίζοντες δι' αὐτῶν τὸν δίκαιον πόλεμόν μας, βέλτε εἰς τὰ ὀνοματὰ σας εὐρεῖ τοὺς μόνους συμπαθεῖς εἰς τὰδικα παθήματά μας, εὐεργετοῦντες κατὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες τὴν συνείδησίν σας, ὅτι ἐκπληροῦτε τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς παραγγελίας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ, γενναῖε Φιλέλλην, ὁ πόσῃ ἐπ' ἔρρειαν ἔχων παρὰ τοῖς συμπατριώταις σου, μὴ παύῃς νὰ τὰς παρακινήσῃς, διὰ νὰ ἐξακολουθῶσι φιλανθρωπῶς τὰς συνδρομὰς των, ὧν βέβαιον ὅτι ἡ Ἑλλὰς θέλει σοὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀθανάτους τὰς χάριτας. Μὴ λείπῃς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ γράφῃς καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ, πᾶν ὅ τι γινώριζεις ἀφίλιμον διὰ τὴν πατρίδα μου ἀπὸ τὸν ἑξωτερικὸν κόσμον· ἐν ᾧ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἱπιθυμίαν προσφέρων σοι ὁμοῦ μὲ τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος μου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ μέρους μου σεαυσμούς, διακηρύττομαι

πιστὸς φίλος καὶ δοῦλός σου

Θ. ΚΟΛΟΚΟΤΡΩΝΗΣ,

Γενικὸς Ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν στρατευμάτων.

sible, that the public sentiment of the civilized world should remain inoperative; had it been possible that the system of professed neutrality between the parties, but of real coöperation with the Turks, should have been persevered in, by the allied powers; one of two events would have been speedily witnessed in Greece, either the rapid reduction of the strong holds still in her possession, with the consequent subjugation and extirpation of her inhabitants; or a convulsive effort beyond those which she had hitherto made, which should unite all hearts and hands in throwing off the horrible calamity which weighed upon the country.

That event, however, happened, which we had ventured almost despondingly to predict, just two years ago, a few weeks before receiving intelligence of its occurrence, as one that could not but take place. From the commencement of the revolution, the ministers of the allied powers at Constantinople, had urged on the Porte, without success, the mediation of their governments. These governments were actuated by general reasons of state; by feelings no doubt of humanity, dwelling more upon the evils of the present contest, than on the perpetuated plague of Turkish slavery; by regard to the interests of the commerce of the Levant, which was interrupted by the military operations of the two parties, and the audacity of pirates; and most of all, by the perplexing fear of change. In addition to this, as Russia had her separate quarrel with the Turks (the heir-loöm of the Autocratic crown), which could not fail to be hastened to its crisis by the continuance of the war in Greece, the other powers were the more earnest to effect a pacification, which would diminish the chance for a war between Russia and the Porte. This proffered mediation was, however, uniformly rejected by the Sultan, who insisted on his right, on his ability, and on his resolution to terminate the revolt of his own subjects, in his own time and way.

The remark is frequently made, that the Porte, in thus rejecting the proffered mediation, had the best of the argument; that the Sultan had a right to terminate these troubles in his own dominion, in his own way. This, however, we do not admit. It is an admitted principle of the law of nations, that any power or any number of powers, may interfere in the concerns of any other power or powers, when required by the great paramount law of nature, as well as nations, that of self-preservation. The question, when self-preservation does require this

interference, is indeed a question of *fact*, very delicate, and on which the parties are not like to be agreed. But the *principle* is clear. Now the Turks either do or do not belong to that family of nations, whose assent, implied or express, has been given to the law of nations, as understood in the modern civilized world. If they do, then we say, as a principle, the right of the allies to interfere is clear, supposing a state of facts to exist authorizing the application of the principle. If the Turks do not consider themselves a party, bound by the law of nations, then we do not know, how they can complain of any policy, on the part of the other powers, which those powers think it their duty to pursue. The ulterior question whether the Turks are, or are not, under the law of nations, admits an argument of some nicety. If adhering to practices forbidden by the clearest principles of that law, ought to exclude them, they are excluded. They have continued to imprison ambassadors, on a rupture with the powers they represent, till the present year. If having entered into treaty with civilized states, be sufficient ground to include them under the law of nations, they are of course included. Mr Ward, the respectable historian of the Law of Nations, lays down the proposition, that 'what is commonly called the law of nations, is not the law of *all* nations, but only of such *sets* or *classes* of them, as are united together by similar religions and systems of morality ;' * and most of the standard writers on the subject, have dropped hints to the same effect.

But this is not the place for the farther discussion of either of the questions started. The allied powers, finding that the Turks would not directly accept their mediation, began to treat the subject *ex parte*. As Russia was pressing the Turkish government on her own account, and as England has registered it among the maxims of her hereditary policy, to check the Russians on the Turkish quarter, negotiations arose between these two powers of a nature so important, as to carry the Duke of Wellington to St Petersburg. Here an understanding was effected in 1826, that Greece should be pacified on the grounds of continued allegiance to the Porte, the payment of an annual

* Ward's Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe. Vol. I. p. 77. This author, however, considers the Turks as having acceded to the European law of nations, by the negotiation of treaties.

tribute, the purchase of the property of the Turks, and the choice of her own rulers, subject to some control on the part of the Porte. But the Porte refused to accede to such an arrangement. Meantime, the evils which the allied powers put forward, as their justification for interference, increased; namely, the complete interruption of the ordinary commerce of the Mediterranean, the growth of piracy, and the necessity imposed on all the commercial states of supporting a squadron in the Archipelago. The public sentiment of Europe also became, from day to day, stronger; and was more and more emphatically expressed. It became intolerable to all honest men, that a slave-trade in well educated, and often accomplished fellow Christians, of both sexes, should be carried on to as great an extent as the African slave-trade, under the pretence, that the European powers, who professed to hold the slave-trade as felony and piracy, were bound not to interfere. The Greeks, in the depths of their despondency, invoked and implored the interference of the leading powers. There were thousands of individuals in Europe and America, who had visited Greece, and were personally acquainted with those who invoked this interference; and who knew, of their own knowledge, that it was not a contest between barbarian and barbarian, but between a barbarous and a civilized race. An intelligent statesman, Count Capo d'Istria,—himself a Greek, for many years a minister of state in the Russian service, in retirement but not out of favor,—travelled from court to court, like another Columbus, persuading them, not to launch forth after undiscovered and perhaps fabulous regions, but to rescue from utter desolation the birth-place of European civilization. The helm of state in England had just been assumed by the only individual perhaps in that country or Europe, who, daring to act on a liberal policy, wielded the power which was necessary to carry his will into effect. Little indeed did we imagine, just two years ago,—when, in our humble sphere, but with devout earnestness, we expressed the wish that this individual might elevate himself above the low policy of the European cabinets, and dare to give repose and liberty to the Greeks, and when our suggestion was derided by the shrewder politicians of the day,—that the work was already done; that a treaty was about to be signed, under the auspices of this illustrious statesman, his dying legacy as it were to the world. And what a lesson does it teach to the candid portion of those who had per-

mitted themselves to become the strenuous asserters of the manliness, liberality, and integrity of the Turk, of the knavery and degeneracy of the Greek, to find Russia, and France, and England enter into a treaty, to prevent this rightful sovereign from reducing his rebellious subjects ! What a lesson does it afford to the allies themselves, to find themselves obliged to do for desolate, wasted, and all but lifeless Greece, what they were implored to do when her wounds were fresh and her first agonies were upon her ; to step in to arrest the scimitar, after a hundred thousand have bled ; to protect the soil, after the vine is rooted up, and the olive-tree is levelled ; to give security to the fireside, whose ashes have been slaked in the blood of its inmates ; to proclaim liberty to husbands and fathers, whose wives and daughters have been sold into the infernal slavery of Anatolia and Algiers, and freedom of religion to Christians, whose patriarch has been gibbeted, and their priests roasted alive at slow fires. If the interference is justifiable now, it was justifiable eight years ago. If the Grand Signior had a right to sack and burn Scio, to hang its hostages on the walls of the citadel, and reduce the remnant of its population to slavery in 1822, he had a right to do the same to Missolonghi in 1826. Did the law of nature, the obligation of Christianity, the innate common sense of mankind, the voice of humanity, all slumber till the trade of the Levant company began to suffer ? The reason assigned for the interference is, if possible, worse than its delay ; for it is not the only, nor the main reason. The interruption of trade and piracy required no such strange remedy as the mysterious treaty of July 6, 1827. That treaty was entered into, *first*, because Russia would not longer be put off. She was determined to go to war ; jointly if the allies would join her, and singly if they would not. *Secondly*, because the allies all saw the portentous absurdity of the course, they had for seven years pursued, that of forcing Turkey to become a military power of the first order. They were quite willing the Sultan should fight the battles of legitimacy with a wooden sword ; but it did at length occur to them, that the destruction of the Janissaries, and the organization, under a vigorous system of military discipline, of the whole Turkish empire, excited by a religious war, might render him an inconvenient neighbor. And, *lastly*, it was found, in the words of the treaty itself, that there was such a thing as ‘humanity,’ as well as the ‘interest of the repose of Europe’ ;

that public opinion was disaffected, and was too strong to be defied ; and that the utter destruction of the Grecian people, was becoming, in the near approach of that catastrophe, a responsibility too heavy to be assumed by those, who had but to speak the word to avert it. Why should we hesitate to speak out ? It was the will of Providence that this Christian people should not perish. And what do we behold ? Events to which modern history has no parallel, concurring to prevent it ;—England allied with Russia in a war against the Turk ; the members of the Congress of Verona sending their combined fleets to protect those, whose cause they had solemnly denounced seven years before, as revolt and insurrection ; the ships of France and England, for the first time, since Heaven knows when, locked yard-arm with yard-arm, in one line of battle. We behold them thus effecting by an ‘untoward’ and all but disavowed movement, the object of a treaty formed after years of deliberation ; doing perhaps the only conceivable act, beyond the reach of their instructions ; but doing it advisedly, and for reasons stated ; in a belief that they were thereto authorized, and that it was the only measure by which their duty could be discharged ; in short, saving Greece by the application of the navies of the most powerful states of Europe, although not one of those states either did make, or pretended to make, the salvation of Greece the moving cause of its procedure. We know of nothing in the history of states, in which second causes have been more effectually overruled, to the production of great effects in the design of Providence.

The treaty of pacification was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, England, and France, on the sixth of July, 1827. It sets forth, in the beginning of the preamble, that the three powers are ‘penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces, and the isles of the Archipelago, to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracies, which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to considerable losses, but besides, render necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression.’ It then sets forth that the kings of England and France, having received a pressing request from the Greeks to interpose their mediation with the Porte, and being, as well as the Emperor of Russia, animated by the desire of stopping the effusion of blood, and of arresting

the evils of all kinds, which might arise from the continuance of such a state of things, have resolved to unite their efforts, and to regulate the operations thereof by a formal treaty, with the view of reëstablishing peace between the contending parties, by means of an arrangement, which is called for, as much by humanity, as by the interest of the repose of Europe.

The treaty then provides, (Article first,) that the three contracting powers will offer their mediation to the Porte, by a joint declaration of their ambassadors at Constantinople; and that there shall be made at the same time, to the two contending parties, the demand of an immediate armistice, as a preliminary condition indispensable to opening any negotiation. Article second provides the terms of the arrangement to be made, as to the civil and political condition of Greece, in conformity with the principles of the understanding between Russia and England, of the preceding year, already alluded to. By the third article, it was agreed, that the details of this arrangement, and the limits of the territory to be included under it, should be settled in a separate negotiation, between the high contracting powers, and the two contending parties. The fourth article stipulated for the immediate execution of the preceding. The fifth article disclaims any view to augmentation of territory, or exclusive commercial advantages to be obtained by the allies. Article sixth provides that the arrangements of reconciliation and peace shall be guaranteed by such of the signing powers, as may deem it useful or possible to enter into such a guarantee. Article seventh directs that ratifications shall be exchanged in two months, and sooner if possible. To this public treaty was added the following 'additional and secret article.'

'In case the Ottoman Porte does not accept, within the space of one month the mediation, which shall be proposed, the high contracting parties agree upon the following measure;

'1. It shall be declared by their representatives at Constantinople to the Porte, that the inconveniences and evils pointed out in the public treaty, as inseparable from the state of things subsisting in the East, for the last six years, and the termination of which, through the means at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, appears still remote, impose upon the high contracting parties, the necessity of taking immediate measures for an *approximation* with the Greeks.

It is to be understood that this approximation shall be brought about, by establishing commercial relations with the Greeks, by

sending to them, for that purpose, and receiving from them, consular agents, so long as there shall exist among them authorities capable of maintaining such relations.

‘2. If, within the said term of one month, the Porte do not accept the armistice proposed in the first article of the public treaty, or if the Greeks refuse to execute it, the high contracting parties shall declare to that one of the two contending parties that shall wish to continue hostilities, or to both, if such become necessary, that the said high contracting powers intend to exert all the means, which circumstances may suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effect of the armistice, the execution of which they desire, by preventing, in as far as may be in their power, all collision between the contending parties; and in fact, immediately after the aforesaid declaration, the high contracting parties will conjointly employ all their means in the accomplishment of the object thereof, without, however, taking any part in the hostilities of the two contending parties.

‘In consequence, the high contracting powers will, immediately after the signature of the present additional and secret article, transmit eventual instructions, conformable to the provisions above set forth, to the admirals commanding their squadrons in the seas of the Levant.

‘3. Finally, if contrary to all expectation, these measures do not yet suffice to induce the adoption by the Ottoman Porte of the propositions made by the high contracting powers, or if, on the other hand, the Greeks renounce the conditions stipulated in their favor, in the treaty of this day, the high contracting powers will nevertheless continue to prosecute the work of pacification, on the basis agreed upon between them; and in consequence, they authorize, from this time forward, their representatives in London, to discuss and determine the ulterior measures, to which it may become necessary to resort.’

To complete the chapter of wonders connected with this treaty, it was, by some breach of official confidence, which we believe has never been traced to its author, published without authority, and before the exchange of ratifications, *secret article and all*, a short time after its date!

The Greeks joyfully accepted, the Turks perseveringly refused, the proffered mediation. Instructions were accordingly given to the allied squadrons, to compel the cessation of hostilities. On the third of September immense reinforcements of the Egyptian army arrived at Navarino. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, the admirals, Sir Edward Codrington, De Rigny, and Heiden, held a conference with Ibrahim, in

which he consented to an armistice. The same day a detachment of his squadron sailed from Navarino for Patras, but was forced to return by the allied squadron.*

Enraged at this interference, and in violation of his agreement, Ibrahim now began to lay waste and desolate the Morea. To counteract this faithless and barbarian policy, the allied admirals proceeded to a course of decided action. They held a conference on the eighteenth of October, and published its result, in a protocol, which, for happy ambiguity and mystical comprehensiveness, compares to great advantage with the treaty under which they were acting. It sets forth that three courses presented themselves; First, to blockade the harbor of Navarino during the winter, which would be difficult, expensive, and, in the event of a storm dispersing the fleet, unavailing. Secondly, to unite the allied squadron within the harbor of Navarino, and, by a permanent occupation of it, compel the Ottoman fleet to remain inactive. This course was rejected, because the Porte would meet it by its usual policy of procrastination. The last course, and that which they adopted, was to proceed 'to take a position with the squadrons in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions, which, entering into the spirit of the treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.' This course the worthy admirals concluded to adopt, as likely to effect their object '*without effusion of blood*, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadron.' It so happened, however, that the very pacific measure of entering the harbor in line of battle, with ten three-deckers, ten frigates, and four brigs, and bearing down on the Turkish force of three line-of-battle ships, five fifty-four gun ships, twenty-five corvettes, twelve brigs, and forty transports, moored in a crescent, with springs on their cables, and with six fire-ships anchored to windward, produced the very unnatural and extraordinary effect of a general battle,—sanguinary and destructive, almost beyond example. It was fought on the twentieth of October, and decided the fate of Greece.

But we must hurry over this, as well as over many other incidents of subsequent occurrence and great interest. The military expedition undertaken to recover Scio failed; Gen-

* For an able chapter on the Events of the Grecian War for 1826-7, see the second volume of the American Annual Register.

eral Church appears to have effected nothing, and Cochran vanished from the scene. Count Capo d'Istria arrived in Greece on the nineteenth of January, 1828, with a loan of fourteen millions of francs, advanced by Russia and France. He immediately called about him the able men of all parties. On the seventeenth of August, a French expedition sailed from Toulon, under General Maison, to effect the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptians, and disembarked at Coron on the twenty-ninth. By the seventh of October the evacuation of the Morea was completed.

Meantime another and most momentous series of events commenced, in the war between Russia and the Porte, which was officially declared on the twenty-sixth of April, 1828. The causes, the fortunes, and probable issue of this war, afford the most important topics, at the present day, in the politics of the world. But it is out of our power at the present moment, to engage in their discussion. We must, in like manner, suppress the reflections, with which we intended to have followed up our sketch of the history of the Greek revolution; and will only observe, in closing our remarks, that, imperfect as our abstract of Dr Howe's work has been, it is sufficient to bear us out in our introductory observation, that the revolution in Greece is a subject of great importance.

ART. VI.—*Letters written in the Interior of Cuba, between the Mountains of Arcana, to the East, and of Cusco, to the West, in the Months of February, March, April, and May, 1828.* By the late REV. ABIEL ABBOT, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Beverly, in Massachusetts. 8vo. Boston. 1829. Bowles & Dearborn. pp. 256.

WE hardly know how more annoyances, novelty, and romantic interest can be crowded into three months, than by a voyage to the island of Cuba. One embarking at a northern port in February, leaves a coast covered with snow and bound in frost. The sea, at the commencement of the voyage, is still more inhospitable than the land which he leaves behind. The winds are rough, cold, and, in the strongest sense of the term,